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PLUTARCH's LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, A.M.

A NEW EDITION,

IN SIX VOLUMES.

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS BY

THE REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.

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THE

LIFE

OF

AGESILAUS.

SUMMARY.

Agesilaus' birth, education, character, and appearance. Agis does not acknowledge Lœotychidas as his son, till his last sickness. Agesilaus, by Lysander's interest, deprives him of the crown; and acquires great authority in Sparta. His justice toward his enemies, and his weakness toward his friends. He is appointed to carry the war into Persia: sacrifices a hind to Diana: is jealous of Lysander; and by his behaviour obliges him to request a separate command. Lysander's resentment. Agesilaus takes many cities in Phrygia: sells his prisoners naked, to expose the effeminacy of their persons: defeats Tisapherncs, and gets possession of his camp: is appointed generalissimo by land and sea: marches into Phrygia to attack Pharnabazus. His love for Megabates: interview with Pharnabazus; and friendship for his son. He violates the rules of justice in favour of his friends. His virtues. He is recalled to Sparta, and instantly returns: traverses Greece, Macedon, Thessaly, &c. and enters Bœotia. Battle of Chæronea, where he is dangerously wounded. He celebrates the Pythian games at Delphi: preserves the simplicity of his manners; persuades his sister to try her fortune in person at the Olympic chariot-race.

His mode of conciliating his enemies. He drives the Argives out of Corinth. His reception of the Theban embassadors. Treaty between the Lacedæmonians and the king of Persia. Lysander's conduct at variance with his honourable sentiments. Sphodrias' unsuccessful attack upon the Piræus: Through Lysander's interest, he is acquitted. Lysander makes war upon Bœotia: falls sick. Congress of Grecian deputies at Lacedæmon. Battle of Leuctra. Fortitude of the Spartans on receiving the intelligence. Agesilaus gives orders that the laws shall sleep one day. Epaminondas enters Laconia; is obliged to retire from Sparta. Sedition and conspiracy put down by Agesilaus. The Thebans withdraw from Laconia. Weakness of Sparta. Archidamus' victory over the Arcadians. Epaminondas comes by surprise upon Sparta in Agesilaus' absence, but is driven off on his return. Astonishing valour of a young Spartan. Battle of Mantinea. Agesilaus loses the esteem of the Greeks and Lacedæmonians; goes into Egypt. The Egyptians conceive a disadvantageous opinion of him. He abandons Tachos, and goes over to Nectanabis: effects his deliverance from a fortress, in which he was besieged; and gains a great victory for him, which establishes him upon the throne. Dies.

ARCHIDAMUS[1] the son of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito[2] a woman of an illustrious family, the other much younger named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown was by law to descend to Agis, Agesilaus had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore received a common Lacedæmonian education;

[1] Archidamus II.

[2] Lampito, or Lampido, was his sister by the father's side.—(PLAT. ALCIB. I.)

which, though hard, in respect of diet and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is said to have called that celebrated city "the man-subduing Sparta," because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to make the citizens tractable and submissive to the laws; and she trained her youth, as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes, who are educated for the throne, under the same necessity. But Agesilaus was singular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was, that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects than any other of the kings; having united to his princely talents and inclinations great civility and courtesy of manner.

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans distinguish by the name of love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty. For though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or overborne, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness where it was necessary to obey. At the same time it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear but to a principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than exertion.

He was lame of one leg: but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, it rendered his spirit of enterprize the more remarkable; for he never made his weak-

ness an excuse for declining any undertaking, however laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be formed while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had an aspect far from commanding. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable even in age than the young and the handsome. And yet Theophrastus says, the Ephori fined Archidamus for having married a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pygmies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades upon quitting Sicily came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, Agis' wife. Agis would not acknowledge the child which she subsequently bore, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs, us that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." He was obliged however to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince, looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of suspicion, did not notice him as a son. Yet in his last sickness Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea and possessed great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus

to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. The generality indeed of the citizens knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with themselves in all the severity of Spartan discipline, concurred with pleasure in the project.

There was then at Sparta a soothsayer named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed to be an able interpreter of every thing relative to the gods. This person represented it as contrary to the divine will, that a lame man should occupy the throne of Sparta; and on the day, upon which the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle:

> Illustrious, Sparta, as thou art, beware,
> Lest a lame[1] government thy strength impair:
> Woe unforeseen shall be thy certain doom,
> And war's strong tide shall whelm thee in the tomb.

Lysander observed upon this, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas: as heaven did not deem it a matter of importance whether or not the king happened to have a lame foot; the thing to be guarded against being the admission of a person, who was not a genuine descendant of Hercules, for that would make the government itself lame. Agesilaus added, that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake[2], upward of ten months after which Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during the whole of that period.

By these means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put into possession

[1] See Life of Lysand. and also Fab. in Justin. vi. 2.
[2] Xenoph. Hellen. iii.

of Agis' private fortune, Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing however that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he distributed among them a moiety of the estate: thus the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

By obedience to the laws of his country, as Xenophon informs us, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was never disputed. The case was as follows: The principal authority was at that time in the hands of the Ephori and the senate. The former were annual magistrates; and the members of the latter had their office for life. They were both, as we have observed in the Life of Lycurgus, appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings. The kings therefore had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and there was a perpetual succession of disputes. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and upon every occasion paid his court to them; taking care, in all his enterprizes, to set out under their auspices. If he was summoned by them, he went faster than usual: If he was upon his throne administering justice, he rose up when they approached: If any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox[1] as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown through their attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their un-

[1] Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

just pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct, even when they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and to go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, when his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them, and ready to give them his assistance if they desired it. By these means, he gained the hearts of all his people.

The Ephori observed this, and in their fear of his increasing power imposed a fine upon him; alleging as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would by that perfect harmony be made to cease; so the great lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the first proposal, without exploring each other's intentions and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle undeserving of the name of harmony [1]. Some imagine,

[1] Upon the same principle, we need not be much alarmed at party-disputes in our own nation. They will not expire, but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours. (L.) One of the ancients has indeed pronounced war "the mother of all things;" and this might perhaps facetiously be interpreted of the old moral pedigree, "War begets poverty, poverty peace, peace plenty," &c. &c. &c. Horace likewise, as well as Ovid, (Metam. i. 433.) speaks of Rerum concordia discors. (Epist. 1. xii. 19.)

that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice[1], when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some considerable benefit would arise to the public from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be admitted without exception; for violent dissentions are pernicious to a state, and productive of extreme danger.

Agesilaus had not been long seated upon the throne, before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing an immense fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be again sent into Asia, that he might support his friends, whom he had left governors and masters of the cities; and of whom many, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, had been banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the farthest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time, he instructed his friends in Asia to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire that Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

Agesilaus received their proposals in a full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition that they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly-enfranchised Helots, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through Lysander's influence, and Agesilaus sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but

[1] Odyss. viii. 77.

through the friendship of Agesilaus, who thought the having procured him this command a greater favour than the having raised him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and, passing the night there, dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "King of Sparta, you are sensible that, since Agamemnon, none has been appointed captain-general of all Greece except yourself: as therefore you command the same people, and go against the same enemies with him, as well as take your departure from the same place, you ought to propitiate the goddess with the same sacrifice which he offered before he sailed."

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor[1]. In consequence of which he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of the country: and the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in extreme wrath with the Thebans. Neither could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded

[1] See Hor. Sat. 11. iii. for a fine discussion of this subject.*

his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition fail of attaining his object.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a most obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and to him all applications were made; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command in order to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. None of the generals indeed, who had been sent to Asia, ever possessed greater sway or were more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or so much humbled their enemies. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, mild, popular behaviour of Agesilaus with the stern, rough, authoritative manner of Lysander, they entirely submitted to the latter, and attended solely to his orders.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because this attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers, than as the counsellors of the king. Afterward, Agesilaus himself was piqued at it. For though he had no envy in his nature, or any jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he was apprehensive that if any signal action were performed, it would be exclusively imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had been considered.

The method, which he took to obviate it, was this: He first opposed the counsels of Lysander, and pursued measures totally different from those for which he interested himself most. Another step was to reject the petitions of all, who seemed to apply to him in reliance upon that minister's influence.

In matters likewise, which were judicially brought before him, those against whom Lysander exerted himself were sure to gain their cause; and they, in whose favour he appeared, could scarcely escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly and with obvious marks of design, Lysander perceived the cause, and did not conceal it from his friends. He told them it was upon his account that they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who possessed more interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver; and said, we are told, before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, observed to him, "Truly, Agesilaus, you know very well how to lessen your friends:" Upon which Agesilaus replied, "I know very well, who seek to be greater than myself." "This is rather, perhaps," said Lysander, "an assertion of your's, than an action of mine. Put me however in some post, where I may be least obnoxious and most useful to you."

Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont; where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks with a considerable treasure and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront which he had received, meditated how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta[1], and throw open to all the citizens the way to that high station. And it

[1] The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

appears, that he would have raised considerable commotions in pursuit of his revenge, had he not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unseasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have discovered less exceptionable modes of correcting the faults of a man of his character and spirit. But under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but afterward, thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event most agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition[1]; and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon should have been able to conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some memorable stroke.

To revenge therefore the perjury of Tisaphernes by an artifice, which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the barbarian had drawn his forces to that

[1] He told the Persian embassadors, "He was much obliged to their master for the step which he had taken, since by the violation of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia and friends to Greece."

quarter, he turned short and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities and made himself master of immense treasures: by which he showed his friends, that to violate a treaty is to despise the Gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure.

As he was inferior however in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus, to raise that species of troops in which he was deficient. His method was, to insist that every person of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have been, he soon levied a numerous and respectable cavalry[1]. For those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others that wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excused a dastardly rich man the service[2].

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white on account of their having lived so much within

[1] Ψιλων ὁπλίτων, the present corrupt reading, should be altered from a passage in the Apophthegms (Ed. St. p. 369.) to δειλων και πλουσιων. The passage is this: ὡς ε ταχυ συνηχθησαν και ἱππεις και ἀνδρες επιλησιοι ανλι ΔΕΙΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.

[2] Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the famed courser of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus, more rich than brave,
To 'scape the wars to Agamemnon gave,
(Æthe her name) at home to end his days,
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise. (Il. xxiii. 295.)

Thus Scipio, when he went over to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horses or men.

doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Upon which Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons ye fight with;" then, pointing to the rich spoils, "And those are the things ye fight for."

When the season again called him into the field, he announced that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tisaphernes: that general deceived himself. For giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had previously been duped by him, he concluded that he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which he was much the weakest. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plain of Sardis, and Tisaphernes was forced to march thither with succours in the utmost haste. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks, who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus however considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he himself had all his forces about him, and he therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops which would not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight: the Greeks pursued them, took their camp, and killed immense numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security; and they had likewise the satisfaction to see Tisaphernes, a man of abandoned character and one of the bitterest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, pro-

mising him large sums[1], on condition that he evacuated his dominions. Agesilaus replied, "His country was the sole arbitress of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich his soldiers than himself: and the great honour among the Greeks was to carry home spoils and not presents from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes for having destroyed Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, receiving thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the scytale[2] from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as army, an honour never granted in that city to any one but himself. He was indeed, as Theopompus somewhere observes, confessedly the first and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue, than in his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character: upon being entrusted with the conduct of the navy, he committed that charge to Pysander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pysander was his wife's brother; and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. Thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew over to his interest Cotys the king of that country, who had been for some time desirous of such a connection, on

[1] He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute: and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would induce Agesilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather, because Tisaphernes, who was guilty of the first aggression, had been punished as he deserved. (Xenoph. Hellen. iii.)

[2] See Life of Lycurgus.

account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and participated in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son a handsome youth, for whom the Spartan prince had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he persuaded to marry Cotys. Cotys gave Agesilaus a thousand horse, and two thousand men draughted from his light-armed troops, and with these he returned into Phrygia.

In that province he committed dreadful ravages; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he carried off with him his most valuable property, and moved from place to place to avoid a battle. Spithridates however watched him so narrowly that, with the assistance of Herippidas[1] the Spartan, he at last made himself master of his camp and all his treasures. Herippidas minutely examined what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen and scrutinizing eye into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

No occurrence, during the whole war, touched Agesilaus more nearly than this. Beside the pain of reflecting that he had lost Spithridates, and with him a considerable body of men, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanness, from which he had ever studied to improve both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness, that might be publicly acknowledged:

[1] Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus in the second year of the war.

but he had a more sensible one in his devoted attachment to the son of Spithridates; though, while he was with him, he had made a point of combating that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more distant in his addresses. Agesilaus was then sorry for the repulse which he had given him, and affected to wonder why Megabates kept at such a distance. His friends told him, he must blame himself for having rejected his former application: "He would still," they added, "be glad to pay his most obliging re-"spects to you; but take care, you do not reject "them again." Agesilaus was silent for some time; and when he had considered the thing, said, "Do "not mention it to him: for this second victory "over myself gives me more pleasure, than I should "have in turning the whole of what I see to gold." This resolution of his held, so long as Megabates was with him; but he was so much afflicted at his departure, it is hard to say how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whose house they had both been entertained, effected an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed with his friends, and sat down upon the long grass in the shade to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly upon the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had indeed just cause of

complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services which he had rendered them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for a reply, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew, that Pharnabazus had been injured. The Spartan general however found an answer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to "the king of Persia, we treated him and his in a "friendly manner: now we are enemies, you can "expect nothing from us but hostilities. So long "therefore as you, Pharnabazus, choose to be a "vassal to the king, we wound him through your "sides. Become a friend and ally to the Greeks[1], "and shake off that vassalage; and from that "moment you have a right to consider these "battalions, these arms, these ships—in short, all "that we are or have, as guardians of your pos-"sions and your liberty; without which, nothing "is great or desirable among men[2]."

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: "If the king sends another lieutenant in "my room, I will come over to you; but while he "continues me in the government, I will to the "best of my power repel force with force, and make "reprisals for him upon you." Charmed with this reply Agesilaus took his hand, and rising up with him said, "Heaven grant that, with such sentiments as these, you may be our friend and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his party were going away, his son who was behind ran up to Agesilaus, and said with a smile, "Sir, I enter with you into the "rights of hospitality:" giving him at the same time,

[1] He added, "Should we however continue at war, I will for the future avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province." (XEN. Hellen. iv.)

[2] *Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses!*

a javelin, which he had in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to bestow upon a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off, and given to the young man. Neither did he afterward forget him. In process of time this Persian was driven from home by his brothers, and forced to seek refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him upon all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling-ring at Athens, who wished to be introduced at the Olympic games; but, as he had passed the proper age, they did not choose to admit him[1]: Upon which the Persian applied to Agesilaus; and he, anxious in this as well as other things to oblige him, procured the young man (though not without considerable difficulty) the admission he desired.

Agesilaus indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but, where a man's friends were concerned, he thought rigid regard to justice a mere pretence. There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias is inno-"cent, acquit him: If he is not innocent, upon "my account acquit him: at all events, be sure "to acquit him[2]."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus, as a friend. There were indeed times, when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of state. Being once obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favour-

[1] In these exhibitions they sometimes admitted boys, who after a certain age were excluded from the lists.

[2] *Si possis, rectè: si non, quocunque modo.*—

ite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, "How little consistent are pity [1] and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the Upper Provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, were the themes upon which they dwelt with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity; and, whereas upon many occasions we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the Gods themselves inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers there was scarcely one, who had a worse or a harder bed than he. And he was so completely fortified against heat and cold, that no one was equally prepared for whatever seasons the climate might produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle, than that of the Persian governors and generals, who had been insufferably elated with power and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and upon one brief laconic word conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought Timotheus' line applicable upon this occasion:

Mars is the god; and Greece reveres not gold.

The whole of Asia was now in a state of agitation, and ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus had brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police without putting to death or

[1] Some MSS. read 'love,' and they are followed by Amyot.

banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the Ephori had sent him orders to return and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

For what better name can we bestow upon that envy, which incited them to conspire and combine their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians; and yet they brought home to themselves the war, which had been removed into a foreign country. I cannot indeed agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, that those Greeks fell short of a considerable pleasure, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to be achieved by Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by themselves under the generals whom they lost in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

[1] That corruption, which induced the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we cannot help remarking, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of it's liberties, and that Persia was not conquered till nothing but the shadow of these liberties remained. Were there indeed a number of little independent states, which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

Of all the actions of Agesilaus, however, there is none which displayed a stricter sense of propriety, or a stronger proof of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Annibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, very reluctantly obeyed the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander, upon receiving intelligence that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater, jestingly said; "It seems, my friends, that while we "were conquering Darius here, there was a combat "of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect, which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the scytale brought to him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home, and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret of his friends as well as allies for the loss of him, as to supply a striking confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian; "That the Lacedæmonians excelled "in public, and the Athenians in private characters." For, though he had eminent merit as a king and a general, he was a still more agreeable companion and desirable friend.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by "ten thousand of the king's archers[1]." For the orators of Athens and Thebes, having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace without asking leave of any of the

[1] Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon (Hellen. iii.) Athens had no share in the distribution.

barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they wished him to pass as a friend "or as an enemy?" Upon which they all received him with tokens of friendship, and showed him every civility on his way; with the exception of the Trallians[1], of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage, demanded of him a hundred talents of silver and as many women. He ironically demanded of the messenger, "Why did they not then come "to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I "will consider of it." "Let him consider," said he; "in the mean time we march." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and he therefore ravaged their territories. To the city of Larissa indeed he offered his friendship, by his embassadors Xenocles and Scytha; but the people seized them, and threw them into prison. His troops so deeply resented this affront, that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of a different opinion. He said, "He would not lose "one of his embassadors for the conquest of all "Thessaly;" and he subsequently found means to recover them by treaty. Neither are we to wonder that Agesilaus took this step, since upon receiving intelligence that a great battle had been

[1] Beside the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Illyricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedon. So at least, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) testifies. One of the MSS., instead of Τραλλεις, gives us Τραχαλεις. In Op. Mor. 373, 21. they are called Τριωβαλλοι. Possibly, they might be the Triballi.

fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was inconsiderable in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not in the least elevated. On the contrary, he said with a deep sigh, "Unhappy "Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave "men with thine own hands; who, had they "lived, might have conquered all the barbarians "in the world."

As the Pharsalians however attacked and harrassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under mount Narthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training he had beaten people, who reckoned their's the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas one of the Ephori met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately: and though his intention was to do it afterward, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, "for which we have been called out of Asia." At the same time, he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cause proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king, might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them off.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarcely entrenched himself, when there happened

an eclipse of the sun[1]. At the same time he received an account, that Pisander had been defeated at sea, and killed by Pharnabazus and Conon. This intelligence afflicted him as well for his own loss, as for that of the public. Yet lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to report that Pisander was victorious[2]. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea[3], and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also, forming in order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon affirms, that this was the most furious action in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it by the side of Agesilaus, with whom he had returned from Asia.

The first charge was neither violent, nor lasting: The Thebans quickly routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But, when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and flying, they both hastened to their relief. At that instant Agesilaus without any risk might have secured to himself the victory, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass, and had then charged them in the rear[4]: But borne along by

[1] This eclipse happened on the twenty-ninth of August, Ol. xcvi. 3. B. C. 394.

[2] That the fleet (says Xenophon, Hellen iv.) was victorious, but that Pisander had fallen in the engagement.*

[3] In the printed text it is 'Coronea,' nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly Chæronea, upon the Cephisus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought fifty-three years before, B. C. 447.

[4] Xenophon (iv.) gives another turn to the matter; but, with him, Agesilaus was never wrong.

his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon even terms. They received him however with equal briskness, and amazing efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. Those volunteers could not have come at a more pressing crisis, or more seasonably for their king. For they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence, and yet could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour, in many places, with spears and swords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty that they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the spot. At last, finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre, which at first they had scorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pass; after which, observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they followed and took them in flank and rear. Still they, however, could not break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves highly upon the battle, because their part of the army had been a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agesilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had seen the dead borne off upon their arms. In the mean time he was informed, that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when under the conduct of Sparton they had de-

feated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides[1].

Early the next morning Agesilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands and the music to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of his success. At the same time, the enemy applied to him for leave to bear off their dead; which circumstance confirmed to him the victory. He therefore granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils which he had taken in Asia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country; nor, in fondness for the fashions which he had seen there, disdain or quarrel with those of his own. On the contrary, he showed as strong an attachment to the Spartan customs, as those who had never passed the Eurotas. He did not vary either his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He even let his doors remain, which were so old that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus[2]. Xenophon also assures

[1] In the battle of Coronea. See Life of Pericles, Vol. ii.; and what relates to the temple of the Itonian Minerva, Pausan. iii. 9. ix. 34.

[2] Aristodemus, the son of Hercules and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished B. C. 1102; so that the gates of Agesilaus's palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood upward of seven hundred years. Corn. Nepos for 'Aristodemus' substitutes his son 'Eurysthenes.'

us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young ladies. These carriages, called Canathra, and used by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins or goat-stags[1]. Xenophon has not told us, what this daughter of Agesilaus was called; and Dicæarchus is greatly dissatisfied, that neither her name nor that of the mother of Epaminondas, is preserved. But we find by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agesilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Prolyta[2]. We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in person. This he did, to prove to the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expense.

Xenophon, the philosopher, spent much of his time with him, and was treated by him with the utmost respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the best knowledge in the world, that of knowing how to command and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he detected a conspiracy, which that general had formed against him immediately upon his return from Asia. And he was inclined to convince the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an ora-

[1] In the original, τραγελαφων. *Cervorum est species tragelaphus, barba tantum et armorum villo distans.* PLIN.

[2] 'Eupolia' and 'Proauga'. (Cod. Vulcob.)

tion found among his papers; which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was then meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the perusal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to "dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to bury "the oration with him." This advice appeared reasonable, and he suppressed the paper [1].

As for those who most strenuously opposed his measures, he made no open reprisals upon them, but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power, they soon discovered what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and were in consequence called to account for their proceedings. He then used to assist them in their distress, and laboured to get them acquitted, by which he converted them from adversaries into friends and partizans; so that at last he had no opposition to contend with. For his royal colleague Agesipolis [2], being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition, interfered but little in the affairs of government: and Agesilaus contrived to make him still more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, ate at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and he therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amiable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself. For, at Sparta, there is nothing criminal in these attachments; on the

[1] For this, and also for an account of the cause of Pausanias's exile, see the Life of Lysander, vol. iii.

[2] Agesipolis I. was the son of Pausanias.

contrary (as we have observed in the Life of Lycurgus,) such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and it's characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Agesilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the address to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral. After which he marched against Corinth[1] with his land-forces, and took the Long Walls; Teleutias assisting his operations by sea. The Argives, who were at that time in possession of Corinth, were then celebrating the Isthmian Games: and Agesilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all that they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles, who attended him, desired him to undertake the exhibition as president; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and stayed to guard them. After he was gone, however, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and some, who had gained the prize before, had the same good fortune a second time; others, who were then victorious, were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity of remarking, how great the cowardice of the Argives must be; who, while they reckoned the presidency at those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it! He was indeed of opinion, that a moderate regard for this kind of diversions was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and

[1] There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth, which Plutarch in this place confounds; but Xenophon, Hellen. iv., has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise, in which Teleutias assisted, did not succeed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, preserved Corinth and it's territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus's resentment.

public exercises of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his presence, and supported them with the utmost zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, so much admired by the world, he seemed not even to know what they were.

One day Callipides, who had acquired high reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting that he would take some honourable notice of him. At last he said, "Do not you know me, Sir?" The king, casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly; "Are you not Callipides, the stage-player?" At another time, being asked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale, he refused, and said; "I "have heard the nightingale herself."

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter. And he was so vain of the appellation, as to adopt it in a letter to the king: "Menecrates Jupiter "to king Agesilaus, health." The reply began thus: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, sanity."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno: and as he stood looking upon the soldiers, who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, embassadors came from Thebes with proposals of peace. He had ever hated that city; and now thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the embassadors or to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, avenged the insult. Before they were gone, intelligence was brought to him, that a battalion of Spartans had been cut in pieces by Iphicrates.

This was one of the greatest losses, which his country had for a long time sustained: and beside being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification, that her heavy-armed soldiers had been beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Agesilaus immediately marched to their assistance; but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and let the Bœotian embassadors know that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of an opportunity of returning the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only desired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, provoked at the demand, replied; "If "you are desirous to see your friends in the elevation of success, to-morrow you shall do it with all "the security which you can desire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them along with him advanced to the very walls. Thus, having shown the embassadors that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them. He then collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; setting off every day before it was light, and encamping after it was dark, in order to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans [1], he led his forces along with their's into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired

[1] The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which had previously belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied for succour to the Lacedæmonians, who employed Agesilaus in that business. (Xenoph. Hellen. iv.)

him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he said, "He should adopt a measure directly the reverse; "for they would be the more afraid of war, when "they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had rendered themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money, which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, upon this occasion, acted an infamous part toward the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up to the king of Persia those cities, for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by every possible means, because the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man whom he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedæmonians "were turning Medes;" he replied, "No, the "Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he compelled them to accept the prince's terms, by threatening them with war [1].

[1] The king of Persia's terms were: That the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him: that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; which, having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so: and that such, as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms. (Id. ib. v.)

This peace of Antalcidas was made B. C. 387.

His view in this was; to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia should be independent. Subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas had most unjustifiably seized the citadel of Cadmea in the time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation, and many of the Spartans did the same; particularly those, who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asking him, in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbi-"das had done so unjust a thing?" with the hope of throwing the blame upon himself; he scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; "consider, whether or not it be advantageous to "Sparta. If it be so, it was glorious to do it without "any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing[1]; and, if "all men were just, there would be no need of va-"lour." If any one in the course of conversation happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the "Great King;" he would answer, "How is he "greater than I, if he is not more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument, by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, of which the purport was, to propose a private friendship and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it, observing, "The public friendship was sufficient; and

[1] This is not the only instance, in which we find it a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country be a gainer by it.

For a noble contrast, see an instance in the Life of Aristides, vol. ii.

" while that lasted, there was no need of a private " one." Yet by these honourable sentiments he did not regulate his conduct: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to become accomplice in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and placing the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect, that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design had been formed by Agesilaus; and subsequent proceedings confirmed this conjecture beyond contradiction. For when the Athenians had expelled the garrison [1], and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for having put to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called polemarchs, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus [2], who upon the death of Agesipolis succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia. For Agesilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and therefore legally exempted from service, was very willing to decline this commission. As he had lately indeed made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans in behalf of tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. This man wanted neither courage, nor ambition; but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes, than by sense and pru-

[1] See Xen. Hellen. v.; whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenians, not the Thebans, as here stated in the original text.

Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and the brother of Agesipolis.

dence. Greedy therefore of an illustrious name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of fame by his Theban enterprise, he was persuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his superiors he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea by a sudden attack at land.

This, it is said, was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia [1]. They sent persons to him, who pretended to be deeply in the Spartan interest; and who, by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition, till he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with less valour and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia [2]: and some light, we are told, appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure, when he found that his march could no longer be concealed; and, having collected some trifling booty, he returned with disgrace to Thespiæ.

Upon this, the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of him; but they found that the magistrates had proceeded against him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital prosecution. He had not dared to appear,

[1] The Lacedæmonians, they feared were too strong for them, and therefore incited Sphodrias to this act of hostility against the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel. See Xen. Hellen. v. and the Life of Pelopidas, where the latter magistrate is respectively called Mellon and Melon.

[2] One of the Attic boroughs, of the tribe Œneis, in the neighbourhood of Eleusis.*

and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than have it supposed that they had joined in doing an injury to others.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to assist him or to appear openly in his behalf, because Sphodrias had been a bitter adversary to Agesilaus. Cleonymus, however, applying to him, and entreating him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus, as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from mentioning the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage to say, "Cleonymus was a suppliant to him "for his father." Agesilaus, knowing his son's attachment to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it: for Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case; he only said, "He would con- "sider, what would be the consistent and honour- "able part for him to act."

Archidamus therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though he had previously been accustomed to call upon him many times in a day. Hence Sphodrias' friends gave up the matter for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named Ety-

mocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly disapproved Sphodrias's "attempt; but he still looked upon him as a brave "man, and was sensible that Sparta had occasion "for such soldiers as he." Such was the way indeed, in which Agesilaus, in order to oblige his son, constantly spoke of the cause. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived, with how much zeal Archidamus had served him, and Sphodrias's friends appeared with greater courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was certainly a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him, "not to mention it, till he was a "father of children himself."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which, the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son obstructed the course of justice, and subjected his country to the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus [1] disinclined to continue the war against the Thebans, he dropped the exemption with which the law furnished him, though he had before availed himself of it, and marched into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he suffered as much from their's in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day, seeing him come off wounded, thus said to him; "The Thebans "pay you well for teaching them to fight, when "they had neither inclination nor skill for it." The

[1] Xenophon says, the Ephori thought Agesilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. Τον υἱον has nothing to do in the text. (Ib.)

Thebans, it is certain, were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been, after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason their ancient sage Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called Rhetræ, forbade them to go to war frequently with the same enemy, viz. to prevent the enemy from learning their art [1].

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, "but from an obstinate spirit of private resent- "ment [2], that he sought to destroy the Thebans. "For their part, (they said,) they were unnecessarily "wearing themselves out, by going in such num- "bers upon this or that expedition every year, at "the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Upon this Agesilaus, desirous to show them that the number of their warriors was not so considerable, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. After which the cryer summoned the trades to stand up one after another: first the potters, next the brasiers, then the carpenters, and masons; in short, all the mechanics. In consequence of this, almost all the allies stood up, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn, or exercise any manual art: upon which Agesilaus smiled and said, "You see, my friends, we send more warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara on his re-

[1] See Life of Lycurgus. vol. i. It was by transgressing this rule, that "the Swedish madman" Charles XII. taught his great rival to conquer him at Pultowa. *

[2] This private resentment, which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, nearly ruined both himself and his country.

turn from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel [1], he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. The limb immediately swelled, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared every sign of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ancle, upon which the pain abated; but the blood flowed so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued for a long time incapable of service.

In the mean time, the Spartans received several checks both by sea and land. Their most considerable loss was at Leuctra [2], which was the first pitched battle gained over them by the Thebans. Before the last-mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat about it. Among these was Epaminondas, a man celebrated for his erudition and philosophy, but who had not yet given any proof of his capacity for commanding armies. The other deputies, he saw, were awed by the presence of Agesilaus; and he himself was the only one, who preserved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and in his propositions. He made a speech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in

[1] Xenophon says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house. (Ib.)

[2] Some MSS. have it 'Tegyra;' but there is no necessity, though Palmerius insists so much upon it, to alter the received reading. For that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle, in which the Thebans defeated the Spartans; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon, that Agesilaus was not then recovered from the sickness mentioned in the text. (L.) M. Ricard, however, contends for 'Tegyra.' *

which he showed that war tended to aggrandise Sparta at the expense of the other states, and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality: because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus, perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and deep attention, asked him, "Whether or not he thought it just and equitable, "that the cities of Bœotia should be declared independent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and spirit, answered him by another question, "Do you think it just, that all the cities of Laco-"nia should be declared independent?" Agesilaus incensed at this answer started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether or not "he agreed to the independence of Bœotia?" to which Epaminondas replied as before, "On con-"dition that you agree to the independence of La-"conia." Agesilaus now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretence against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points, as they could amicably settle among themselves, he dismissed them; leaving others, of a more difficult nature, to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had at that crisis an army in Phocis, the Ephori sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they despatched their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill-inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burthen upon them, though they durst not contradict or resist the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies [1] appeared,

[1] Among others, it was announced that the doors of the Bœotian temples had opened of themselves, that their priestesses had

as we have already observed in the Life of Epaminondas; and Prothoüs [1], the Spartan, opposed the war to the utmost of his power: but Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose. He prevailed to have hostilities commenced; in hopes, that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom and alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity of chastising them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of Scirophorion, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of Hecatombœon; which was only twenty days afterward. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were there slain, among whom fell their king Cleombrotus, and along with him the flower of their army. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was thrice struck down as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and as often recovered himself; and was at last killed with his sword in his hand [2].

concurred in anticipating some signal victory for their countrymen, and that all the armour suspended in the temple of Hercules had suddenly disappeared, as if that demi-god had himself set off to be present at an impending battle. (XEN. ib. vi.) The Life of Epaminondas here mentioned, is unfortunately lost. *

[1] Prothoüs proposed, that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement, and that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon such as should oppose the liberty of the cities. "This," he said, "would give to their cause the sanction of heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it." But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for (Xenophon adds,) "It appeared, as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

[2] Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those

After the Lacedæmonians had sustained this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than Greeks had ever boasted in a battle with Greeks, the spirit and dignity of the vanquished was notwithstanding more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed if, as Xenophon says, "Men of merit in their convivial and playful con-"versations let fall some expressions and observa-"tions, which deserve to be remembered; certainly "the noble behaviour and remarks of such persons, "when struggling with adversity, have a much "higher claim to our notice." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The Ephori, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective fa-

upon which he least depended in the other. The former he commanded in person; to the latter he gave directions that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour: but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front: which he did with so much bravery that the Spartans began to give way, especially after the death of Cleombrotus, whose dead body however they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle, whereas of the Thebans there did not fall above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371, wherein the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, after having held it for nearly five hundred years.

milies, they stayed to see the exercises, dances, and every other part of the exhibition concluded[1].

Next morning, the names of the killed and the survivors being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the former class appeared in public, and embraced each other with an air of cheerfulness and dignity; while the relations of the latter shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he displayed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation, both in his speech and countenance. Among the matrons, the difference was still more remarkable. They, who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle, were melancholy and silent; whereas those, who had an account that their sons were slain, immediately repaired to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with every mark of elevation and joy.

The people who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas in the pride of victory would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they again applied to the lameness of Agesilaus. Their scruples upon this occasion extremely discouraged them; and they were afraid that the divine displeasure had brought upon them the late calamity, for having expelled a sound man from the throne and preferred a halt and lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings which heaven had given them against it. Nevertheless, in consideration of his virtue, authority, and

[1] And where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for it's support, but either affectation or insensibility? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, the ruin of the state was certainly an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat;* The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to remain, even after they had felt it's fatal consequences.

renown, they still looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beside marching under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present, they were at a loss what to do with those, who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons Tresantes[1]. In this case they did not choose to set those marks of disgrace upon them which the laws directed, because they were so numerous and powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection. For they are not only excluded from all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them: any man, that meets them, is at liberty to strike them: they are obliged to appear in a forlorn and dejected manner, and in a vile garb covered with motley patches; and to wear their beards half-shaved and half-unshaved. To have carried so rigid a law as this into execution, at a time when the offenders were so many, and when the commonwealth had so much occasion for soldiers, would have been both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation. But he without making any addition, retrenchment or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep "that day, and the day following resume their au- "thority for ever." Thus he preserved to the state it's laws entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. He then, in order to raise the young Spartans out of their depression and melancholy, marched into Arcadia at their head. He avoided a battle indeed with great care, but he took a small

1 That is, 'persons governed by their fears.'

town of the Mantineans[1], and ravaged the flat country. This in some degree restored Sparta to her spirits, and gave her reason to hope that all was not lost.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thousand men, exclusive of the light-armed, and of those who without arms followed merely for plunder. For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than seventy thousand concerned in this irruption. Full six hundred years had elapsed, since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon; and this was the first time during that long period, that they had seen an enemy in their territories: none had ever dared to set foot in them before[2]. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas and the very suburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and other important posts: and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand that had lighted up the war; and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backward and forward expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy and the

1 See Xenoph. Hellen. vi.

2 Plato finely observes of Sparta, "that she was like the temple of the Furies, which no one had courage to approach."

flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, likewise, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state, at his accession; and he now saw her glory wither, and his own braggart spirit which had so often boasted, "That no "Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's "camp," completely humiliated. In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the banks of the Cephisus;" Antalcidas replied, "But we never drove you from "those of the Eurotas." Near akin to this was the repartee of a Spartan of less note to an Argive, who said, "Many of you sleep on the plains of Argos;" to which the other retorted, "But not one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say, Antalcidas was then one of the Ephori; and that, fearing Sparta would be taken, he conveyed his children to Cythera [1]. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas in order to attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much swoln with the snow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it, at the head of his infantry. As he was crossing, somebody pointed him out to Agesilaus; who, after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but, finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped and laid waste the country.

[1] An island near the coast of Laconia.

There had long existed a disaffected party in Lacedæmon; and about two hundred of that party leagued together, and seized upon a strong post called the Issorium, in which stood the temple of Diana[1]. The Lacedæmonians were solicitous to have the place immediately stormed; but Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloke and one servant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had mistaken their orders. "I did not order you," said he, "to take post here, "nor all together in any one place; but some there "(pointing to another place) and some in other "quarters." When they heard this, happy in thinking that their design was undiscovered, they came out, and went to the several posts as he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the Issorium, took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he received information of another and much more alarming conspiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them, to concert a plan for changing the form of government. It was dangerous, either to bring them to a trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass wholly unnoticed. Agesilaus therefore, having consulted with the Ephori, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that way before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers, and of the Helots who were enlisted, slunk away from the town and deserted to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go early in the morning to the quarters; and where

[1] This passage is accompanied with some minute topographical difficulties, which however it would be more tedious than useful, with M. Ricard, to remove. *

they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not transpire.

As to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia, historians do not agree. Some say, the winter quickly forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a very disorderly manner: while others affirm, that the Thebans stayed full three months, in which time they laid waste almost the whole country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture when the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to march home, there came a Spartan named Phrixus on the part of Agesilaus, who gave them ten talents to leave Laconia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they had intended, but received money from the enemy to defray the expences of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus became acquainted with this particular, of which other historians appear to have been totally ignorant.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controlling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and confining himself to such measures as were safe ones. He could not indeed, after the late blow, restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find the slightest deviation from that regimen fatal,[1] so one single miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Neither is this to be wondered at. Their constitution was admirably formed for peace, virtue, and harmony; but when they sought to enlarge their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus had deemed

[1] This, Dacier informs us, is taken from Hippocrates; who, to obviate the inconvenience of occasionally-necessary changes of diet, dissuaded too strict an attention to regimen in healthy subjects. See, also, Life of Lycurgus. Vol. I.

unnecessary to their happiness, they fell into a ruinous mistake.

Agesilaus now, on account of his advanced age, declined the service. But his son Archidamus, having received some succours from Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained the battle emphatically called "the tearless battle;" for he killed immense numbers of the enemy, without losing a single man.

Nothing could afford a more signal proof of the weakness of the Spartans, than this victory. Before, it had been so common and natural a thing for them to conquer, that upon such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; those who fought were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even after the important action at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described[1], the Ephori presented the person who brought them the first intelligence of their success with only a mess of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle arrived, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First, his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy; and, after him, the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory beam afresh. Till that hour, the men were so much ashamed of their former defeat, that (it is said) they could not even encounter the eyes of their women.

When Epaminondas however re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to resist the measure by opposing him in the field,

[1] V. 73. This action was fought Ol. xc. 3. B.C. 418.*

But it gave them deep concern, and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that under him they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country, whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace offered him by the Thebans; not choosing formally to cede to them that which they in fact possessed. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had again separated from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas, being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped unknown to the Mantineans from Tegea in the night, and took a different road to Lacedæmon from that by which Agesilaus was marching; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in a defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus of Thespiæ, as Callisthenes states, or some Cretan (according to Xenophon) informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long afterward entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it, with a vigour beyond his years. He saw that this was not the time, as it had been, for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the boldest and most desperate efforts; and by those means alone, which he had never before either trusted or adopted, he repelled the present danger, and snatched the town out of Epaminondas' hands. Upon this occasion he erected a trophy, and showed the children and the women, how gloriously the

Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus eminently distinguished himself that day, both by his courage and his agility, flying through the bye-lanes to meet the enemy where they pressed the hardest, and every where repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadas, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his person, and just shooting from a boy into a man, the precise time at which the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; having nothing but a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house, and having made his way through the combatants, dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man whom he encountered. Yet he himself received not a single wound; whether it was, that heaven preserved him out of regard to his valour, or he appeared to his adversaries as somewhat more than human. The Ephori, it is said, honoured him with a chaplet for his gallant achievement, but at the same time fined him a thousand drachmas for having dared to appear without his armour[1].

Some days after this, there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit; when a Spartan named Anticrates[2] turned short, and gave him a wound, with a spear according to Dioscorides, or as others say, with a sword.

[1] This story is introduced by Budgell, in his paper upon "The mixture of virtue and vice in the human character." Spectat. 564.*

[2] Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who (he says) was killed immediately afterward. But Plutarch's account seems better grounded.

And indeed the descendents of Anticrates are to this day called by the Lacedæmonians Machæriones, as if their ancestor had struck him with a sword. This action appeared so important, and was so acceptable to the Spartans on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his posterity; one of whom, named Callicrates[1], is at present in possession of that privilege.

After this battle and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace. But Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest however admitted them to take the oath, as one of the states; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not therefore be considered otherwise than as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he took every method to obstruct the general peace, and protract the war; though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow from his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies of the people. This was at a time, likewise, when he had the fairest opportunity of extricating himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip such an enormous power, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and revenues of Messene?

He suffered still more in his reputation by taking a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was deemed inconsistent with one of the greatest

[1] Nearly five hundred years afterward.

characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his person, to give his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian in arms against the king his master. Had he, now he was upward of eighty, with his body full of wounds and scars, again accepted the appointment of captain-general to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition in that advanced period of life would not have been quite unexceptionable. For even honourable pursuits must have their times and seasons, to give them a propriety; or rather propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteristic which distinguishes honourable from dishonourable pursuits. But Agesilaus was not moved by this consideration, neither did he look upon any public service as unworthy of him; he thought it much more so to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down in patient expectation of a natural death. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail; taking with him thirty Spartans, as formerly, for his counsellors.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, all the state-officers immediately came to pay him their court. The name and character indeed of Agesilaus had raised great curiosity and expectation in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little plain old man in mean shabby attire seated on the grass by the sea-side, they could not help regarding the matter in a ridiculous light, and observing that this was the very thing represented in the fable[1]: "The mountain had brought forth a

[1] Athenæus makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus answer, "You will find me a lion by and by."

mouse." They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction; and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, refusing the pasties, the sweetmeats, and the perfumes: and, on their pressing and teazing him to accept them replied, "They might carry them to his Helots." Theoprastus tells us, he was pleased with the papyrus, on account of it's thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he begged some of it from the king.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was much disappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was placed at the head of the navy; and Tachos reserved to himself the chief direction, both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance, that occurred to Agesilaus; and others quickly followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians, and contrary to his dignity and nature submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity of shaking off his yoke. This soon presented itself. Nectanabis, Tachos' cousin, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent embassadors to Agesilaus, to entreat his assistance. The same application he made to Chabrias, and promised them both immense rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and implored them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease Agesilaus' resentment, and to retain him in the cause in

which he had embarked. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came hither as a vo- "lunteer, and therefore may act as you think "proper; but I was sent by my country, upon the "application of the Egyptians for a general. It "would not then be right to commence hostilities "against the people, to whom I was sent as an as- "sistant, except Sparta should give me such orders." At the same time he despatched some of his officers home, with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, and the other as one who had a stronger regard for Sparta, and who would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyptian deputies an audience, and this public answer, "That they "should leave the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do "what should appear most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries and went over to Nectanabis, covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of consulting the interest of his country[1]: when that slight veil is taken off, it's right name is treachery and base desertion. The Lacedæmonians, it is true, by placing a regard to those interests in the first

[1] Xenophon has succeeded tolerably well in defending Agesilaus, with respect to his undertaking the expedition into Egypt. He represents him as pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some requital for his many services to the Lacedæmonians, of restoring through his means the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of returning the ill-offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him with respect to his desertion of Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of 'treachery.'

rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice but the aggrandisement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But at the same time there rose up in Mendes another competitor, to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had readily assembled. Nectanabis, in order to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were considerable, they were only a mixed multitude, many of them mechanics, who were to be despised for their utter ignorance of war: "It is not their numbers," said Agesilaus, "that I fear, but that ignorance "and inexperience, which render them incapable of "being encountered by art or stratagem; for those "can be successfully exercised only upon such as, "having skill enough to suspect the designs of their "enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and in "the mean time are caught by new contrivances. "But he, who has neither expectation nor suspicion "of that kind, gives his adversary no more oppor-"tunity, than he who stands still gives to a wrestler."

Soon afterward, the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis; and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who by the advantage of numbers might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and forestal him in most of his operations, his fears and suspicions increased, and suggested to him the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Agesilaus was offended, and could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides a second time, and at last return without having effected any thing. He therefore

followed his standard, and entered the town along with him.

When the enemy however came up, and began to open their trenches in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to risk an immediate engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians on that account looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for carrying into execution the following design. The enemy, as we have observed, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis, were drawing a deep trench round the walls. When they had proceeded so far in the work, that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm: he then went to the Egyptian, and said; "Now is the time, young man, "for you to save yourself, which I did not choose "to mention before, lest it should be divulged and "lost. The enemy with their own hands have work-"ed out your security, by labouring so long upon "the trench, that the part which is finished will "prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the "space which is left puts it in our power to fight "them upon fair and equal terms. Come on then, "and show your courage; sally out vigorously along "with us, and save both yourself and your army. "The enemy will not dare to stand us in front, and "our flanks are secured by the trench." Nectanabis, admiring his capacity, immediately placed himself in the middle of the Greeks, and advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus, having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same

stratagem, as a wrestler occasionally uses the same slight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, enclosed with two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge with a front equal to their's, and secured by the nature of the ground from being hemmed in or surrounded. The consequence was, that they made but little resistance; numbers were killed, and the rest fled and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war which she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though at the same time she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with signal marks of honour, and beside other presents furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expences of the Grecian war. But as it was winter, he met with a storm which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa, called the 'Haven of Menelaus[1];' and there he died at the age of eighty-four years, of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. For above thirty years of that time he made a most splendid figure, both as to reputation and power; being looked upon, till the battle of Leuctra, as commander in chief, and as it were king of Greece.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they

[1] An African port in the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Cyrenaica.

expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home. And as the attendants of Agesilaus had not honey to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and in this manner conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta [1].

[1] Plutarch has written his Life.

)MPEY.

L[illegible]ies : is[illegible]
at L[illegible]

OF

POMPEY.

SUMMARY.

Hatred entertained by the Romans against Strabo the father of Pompey; and their attachment to the son. Flora's extraordinary regard for him. He is accused of having had too much commerce with married women. His frugality. He saves his father's life, and quells a mutiny: is prosecuted on a charge brought against his father. Assassination of Cinna. Pompey collects his troops, and marches to join Sylla: gains several advantages over the opposite party: is received by Sylla with great respect: goes to Metellus's assistance in Gaul: divorces his wife Antistia in order to marry Æmelia. He passes over into Sicily; and thence into Africa, where he defeats Domitius, and reduces the whole country in forty days. Sylla recalls him, and gives him the surname of the 'Great.' He attains a triumph, in opposition to that general's wishes, who becomes jealous of his renown. He drives Lepidus out of Italy: and marches into Spain against Sertorius. Battle of Sacro. He writes to the Senate for money. The war terminated. Sertorius' death. Pompey cuts in pieces the fugitive slaves: is elected consul with Crassus: re-establishes the authority of the Tribunes: is reconciled with Crassus. Their conduct after the Consulship. Origin of the War of the Pirates. Their successes and insolent behaviour. Pompey is appointed general against them. Fruitless protest of the more respectable citizens against the unlimited power granted

happen to him upon this occasion, by the great successes. He returns to Rome, passes over to Athens, and puts an end to the war. His conduct with regard to the pirates in Crete. He is chosen to continue the war against Mithridates. In what manner he receives the notification of this appointment. His shameful treatment of Lucullus. Mithridates, enclosed by Pompey, makes his escape: but is overtaken, and defeated. Tigranes sets a price on that prince's head. Pompey makes peace with Tigranes: defeats the Albanians and Iberians; over the former of whom he gains a second victory. Stratonice surrenders to him the fort, containing Mithridates's chief treasures. He takes another castle, in which he finds his private papers: subdues Syria and Judea. Insolence of his freedman Demetrius. He is informed of Mithridates's death. Presents sent to him by Pharnaces. He visits Mitylene and Rhodes: counteracts the reports spread at Rome in his dispraise. Cato refuses him his two nieces, whom he asks in marraige for himself and his son. His triumph. Steps which lead to his fall. His seditious speeches, and conduct. Clodius's insolence. Pompey procures Cicero's recal from exile. Is entrusted with the care of importing corn to Rome, and procures it in great abundance. Cæsar arrives in Italy. The first triumvirate. Pompey and Crassus obtain the consulship by violence, and get Cæsar a prorogation of his government of Gaul. Death of Julia. Quarrel between Pompey and Cæsar. The former declared sole consul: marries Cornelia: obtains a continuation of his government for four years: demands the consulship for Cæsar, at that time absent. His extravagant presumption; and preparations against Cæsar, who passes the Rubicon. Pompey placed at the head of the commonwealth, with a discretionary power. General consternation at Rome. Cæsar arrives there, and makes himself master of the whole of Italy. Pompey collects his land and sea-forces. His illustrious associates. Overture proposed by Cæsar, and rejected by Pompey, who neglects an opportunity of improving a victory. His confidence. He pursues Cæsar. Complaint raised against him. His hesitation about fighting. Order of battle of both generals. Reflections upon their ambition and folly. The battle of Pharsalia

won by Cæsar. Pompey flies: is received by Peticius on board his ship, and joins Cornelia at Lesbos: advises the inhabitants of Mitylene to surrender themselves to Cæsar: makes some efforts to draw together his scattered forces: retires to Egypt. Ptolemy determines to have him assassinated: sends Achillas to meet him. Pompey is murthered. His freedman Philip burns his corpse. Cæsar avenges his death.

THE people of Rome appear from the first to have been affected toward Pompey, nearly in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was toward Hercules; when, after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

The sire I hated, but the son I loved [1].

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general, than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, because he had eminent talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightening, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other

[1] Of the tragedy of 'Prometheus released,' whence this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had confined Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, by chains, from which Hercules the son of Jupiter set him free. L.

hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment begun at a more early period, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey himself.

The sole cause of their hatred of the father was his insatiable avarice, but there were many causes of their affection for the son; [2] his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his persuasive address, his strict honour, and his invariable accessibility; for no man was ever less importunate in asking, or more gracious in conferring favours. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye [3], produced a reputed, rather than an actual likeness of Alexander the Great, as re-

[2] See, for a fine amplification of this character, Velleius Paterculus, ii. 29. *Forma excellens, non ea quæ flos commendatus ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti, quæ in illam conveniens amplitudinem, fortunam quoque ejus, ad ultimum viæ comitata est diem. Innocentia eximius, sanctitate præcipuus, eloquentia medius, potentiæ (quæ honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non uti ab eo occuparetur) cupidissimus; dux bello peritissimus, ivi in toga, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem modestissimus: amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, &c.*

Almost all the Roman writers, indeed, agree in the above-mentioned drawback upon his excellence, his intolerance of an equal.

[3] Τγροῖης signifies not only 'moisture,' but 'flexibility.' Lucian has ὑγροῖης μελων. And των περι τα ομμαία ῥυσμων ὑγροῖης seems more applicable to the latter sense.

presented in his statues. So that some at first gave him the name of Alexander, and he not refusing it, others applied it to him, by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus[1], a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was no wonder that he, being a "Philip, should be attached to an Alexander."

We are told that Flora the courtesan took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce she had had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminius one of Pompey's acquaintance had a passion for her, and caused her much trouble by his importunities. At last she told him, she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him; but, though he seemed to retain a regard for her, he himself never approached, nor had any intercourse with her afterward. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long sick through sorrow and regret. This Flora, it is said, was so celebrated for her bloom and beauty, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, upon that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But, though he took his measures with so much

[1] Lucius Marcius Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was Augustus' father-in-law, having married his mother Atia. Horace mentions him, ep. I. vii. 46. And Cicero also, de Clar. Orat. 47.

care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies; who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said, that for the sake of gratifying his mistresses, he often neglected or gave up points essential to the public welfare.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his on record. In a severe illness, when his appetite was nearly lost, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be purchased, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them in his menageries all the year round. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend "upon the luxury of Lucullus?" He then, without any regard to the physician, ate something that was easy to be procured. But this happened at a later period of his life.

While he was very young and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna*, one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey received information of this, when he was at supper, but it did not throw him into the least confusion. He even drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but when they were to have retired to rest, he stole out of the tent, and went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the bedclothes in many places, imagining that he was in it.

* A. U. C. 666. And as Pompey was born in the same year with Cicero, viz. A. U. C. 647, he must in this war with Cinna have been nineteen years old.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general, dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was every where: he implored them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them trample upon him, if they were resolved to go out. Upon this they were ashamed to proceed, and all except eight hundred returned, and were reconciled to their commander.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was preferred against him, that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of his freedmen, had secreted most of the money; and he informed the magistrates of every particular. He was himself, however, accused of having reserved some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum: and it is true, his father gave them to him upon taking that place; but he lost them on Cinna's return to Rome, when that general's creatures broke open and pillaged his house. In this affair, he strenuously maintained the combat with his adversary at the bar, and showed a degree of acuteness and intrepidity beyond his years; which gained him so much applause, that Antistius the prætor, who had the hearing of the cause, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The proposal was accordingly made to his friends: Pompey accepted it, and the treaty was privately concluded. The people, however, conceived some notion of the thing, from the exertions which Antistius took in his favour; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence in the

name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were upon a signal given, broke out into the old marriage-acclamation of "Talasio."

The origin of this term is said to have been as follows: When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating in order to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome, and lest she should be taken from them as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, "Talasio." Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired: all who heard them therefore, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. The marriage of Talasius, we are told, proved fortunate; and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account of the term, that I can discover[6].

Pompey in a little time married Antistia, and afterward repaired to Cinna's camp. But, finding some unjust charges laid against him there, he took the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was nowhere to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer endure his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his very valuable ring: but the officer with great ferocity replied, "I "am not come to sign a contract, but to punish an "impious and lawless tyrant;" and killed him upon the spot.

[6] See more of this, in the Life of Romulus, vol. I. p. 78.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, seized and held the reins of government. It was not long however before Sylla returned to Italy, to the high satisfaction of most of the Romans, who in their present unhappy circumstances thought a change of master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities reduced them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

Pompey was then in the Picene[7], whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but chiefly on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. Observing however, that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time, he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who stood in need of protection, but rather in a respectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore tried, what levies he could make in the Picene; and the people, rejecting Carbo's applications, readily repaired to his standard. Upon this occasion one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come "from under the hands of the pedagogue, and is all "on a sudden become a demagogue among you;" they were so much provoked, that they immediately laid hold on him, and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the large city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who opposed him in

[7] *Hod.* The March of Ancona, to the N. E. of Rome, on the coast of the Adriatic *.

behalf of Carbo, to depart the city. He enlisted soldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities; for the partizans of Carbo retired, and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners. So that within a little time he had raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved toward Sylla, not by hasty marches, or as if he sought to conceal himself: for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all those parts of Italy, through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once; not in front or in one body, but hemming him in with their three armies, in hopes of effecting his entire destruction.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled his whole forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him to the ground with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled, and threw the infantry into such disorder, that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they separated, and took different routes. In consequence of which the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted Pompey's interests.

Not long afterward, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over

to them: upon which, Scipio himself was forced to fly. At last, Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. These however met with so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and forced in the pursuit upon impracticable ground; so that, finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions; but, upon the first rumours of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries and such respectable generals, dreading the consequence, he set off with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey having received intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner, as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander-in-chief. For he expected great honours from him; but he obtained still greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him with an army in excellent condition, both as to the age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as Imperator[a], he returned his salutation with the same title: though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was himself at that time contending with the Scipios and the Mariuses. The rest of his behaviour was as respectful, as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to visit him; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he was surrounded by a number of persons of distinction.

[a] On the nature of this title, see Life of Crassus.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wished to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had achieved nothing worthy of the forces under his direction, he said, "It was "not right to take the command from a man, who "was his superior both in age and character; "but, if Metellus should desire his assistance in "the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come; upon which he entered Gaul, and not only signalised his own valour and capacity, but revived in Metellus the spirit of adventure, which was almost extinguished by age: just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt that which is solid and cold, sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists and gained the prize in all the games, to commemorate or record the performances of his younger years; so have I been afraid to stir up the actions of Pompey at this period of his life, as though in themselves extraordinary, they were yet eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions: lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should leave myself no room for those greater and more critical events, which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they solicited. But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than to those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance; and as his wife Metella was entirely of his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had had by Scaurus, and

who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical, than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla; but it ill became Pompey's character, to take Æmilia, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house; and at the same time shamefully and cruelly to divorce Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father, whom on account of this very husband she had lately lost. For Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to Sylla's party. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands on herself. This was an additional scene of misery, in that tragical marriage; as was also the fate of Æmilia, who died in Pompey's house in child-bed.

Soon after this, Sylla received an account that Perpenna had taken possession of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the survivors of the opposite faction. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island: Domitius had entered Africa; and many other persons of distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had sought refuge there. Upon which, Pompey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon compelled Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by preceding armies, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction; alleging, that they were excused by an ancient privilege received from the Romans. He answered, "Will you "never have done with citing privileges to men "that wear swords?" His behaviour also to Carbo, in his misfortunes, appeared inhuman. For

if it were necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately; and then it would have been the work of him, who gave orders for it. But instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal; where he sat in judgement upon him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led away to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered by it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius* the friend of Cæsar states, that Pompey likewise treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity. For knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared with him in respect of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside; and after he had walked with him, till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to drag him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey indeed was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were publicly taken: but others he suffered to escape, and some he even assisted in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the ora-

* The same, who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer, and wrote (among others) the Lives of Caius Marius, Pompey, and the elder Scipio Africanus. See A. Gell. vii. 1. See also Sueton. Jul. Cæs. 52, and Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 67. But his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to write a treatise, to prove that Cæsario was not the son of Cæsar. Many have also ascribed to him the latter books of the Gallic war, which are by others assigned to Hirtius. *

tor Sthenis told him, "He would act unjustly, if "he passed by the person that was guilty, and pu- "nished the innocent." Pompey asking him, "Who was the guilty person?" he replied, "I am "the man. I persuaded my friends, and com- "pelled my enemies, to take the measures they "did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterward all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate and letters from Sylla, commanding him to cross over into Africa, and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour against Domitius; who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius had carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and from a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred store-ships laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica[10], and part at Carthage: immediately after which, seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought over with him six legions complete.

Upon his arrival, he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers (it seems) found a

[10] *Hod.* Satcor, at the mouth of the river Bagrada, the next city in point of magnitude to Carthage, and after it's destruction the capital of the country. It became afterward additionally eminent, as the scene of the Younger Cato's suicide.*

treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing becoming public, the rest of the troops concluded that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey therefore could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but to walk about, and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and ranged his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy, and difficult to pass. In the morning likewise it began to rain, and the wind blew with great violence, so that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. Pompey, however, looked upon this as his opportunity, and passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and their resistance was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm also incommoded the Romans, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey was himself in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and did not receive a speedy answer. But at length he routed the enemy with considerable slaughter; not above three thousand of them, out of twenty thousand, escaping. The soldiers then saluted Pompey Imperator, but he said he would not accept that title, so long as the enemy's camp stood untouched; if they chose therefore to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the entrenchments.

Upon this, they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, from apprehension of an accident similar to that, which he had recently escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He made Iarbas one of Domitius' confederates prisoner, and bestowed his crown upon Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by conquest, he entered Numidia, and continued his march for several days; subduing all that came in his way, and reviving the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts, without having given them a specimen of Roman valour and success. Accordingly, he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, we are told, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the entire country, and brought the affairs of it's kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

On his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, by which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with a single legion for a successor. This gave him deep concern, though he kept it to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch, that when he entreated them to return to Italy, they broke out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first, he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations; and when he found these had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. They went however, and took him

thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he exhorting them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them with an oath, "That he would kill himself, if they "attempted to force him." And even this with difficulty induced them to desist.

The first intelligence Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends, "Then it is my fate to have to contend "with boys in my old age." This he said because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he had true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive Pompey, and to conduct him home with marks of high regard, he resolved to exceed them, if possible, in his attentions. He therefore hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of Magnus, or "the Great:" At the same time, he ordered all those about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally prevail till it had been authorised by Sylla. It is certain, he was himself the last to take it, and made no use of it till a long time afterward, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. He then began to sign himself in his letters, and in all his edicts, "Pompey the Great:" for the world had become accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed upon their eminent men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the lofty qualities and arts

which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of Maximus (i. e. Greatest) to Valerius[11], for having reconciled them to the senate after a violent dissension; and to Fabius Rullus, for having expelled some persons descended from enfranchised slaves[12], who had been admitted into the senate on account of their large fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that "honour to any person, who was not either consul "or prætor[13]. Hence it was that the first Scipio, "when he returned victorious from greater wars and "conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not "demand a triumph; for he had held neither of these "offices. If Pompey then (he added) who was yet "but a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be "admitted into the senate, should enter the city in "triumph, it would bring an odium both upon the "dictator's power and his friend's honours." These arguments Sylla adduced, in order to show him that he would not allow of his triumph, and that if he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, "That more worshipped the rising than "the setting sun:" intimating, that his own power

[11] Marcus Valerius, brother to Valerius Publicola the dictator. This happened, A. U. C. 260. (Liv. ii. 31.) See also Cic. Brut. 14.

[12] It was not his having expelled the descendents of enfranchised slaves from the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of Maximus; but his having reduced into four tribes the populace of Rome, who were before dispersed among the whole, and had thereby too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called "Tribus Urbanæ." (Liv. iv. 46.)

[13] The senate as Livy informs us (xxxi. 20.) refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph for the same reason, although they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

was increasing, while that of Sylla was upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was; and when he was informed, in admiration of Pompey's spirit he cried out, "Let him triumph! Let him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy upon this occasion, it is said that, the more to mortify those in whom it appeared, he intended to have had his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought with him a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up his design, and contented himself with horses.

His soldiers, not having obtained all that they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, "He had rather give up his triumph, than submit "to flatter them." Upon which Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been the most vigorous in opposing his triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey "really 'the Great,' and worthy of the indul- "gence."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, that Pompey should have been a senator before the prescribed age; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour, to triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude: the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, classing with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness, at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till with a high hand and entirely against his will Pompey raised Lepidus[14] to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla, seeing him conducted home by the people through the forum, thus addressed him: "I ob-" serve young man, you are proud of your victory. " And undoubtedly it was a great and extraor-" dinary thing, so to manage the people that " Lepidus, the worst man in Rome, should be " returned senior to Catulus, one of the very " best. But awake, I charge you, and be upon " your guard. For you have now made your " adversary stronger than yourself."

The displeasure, which Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly from his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with the utmost temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the Campus Martius, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured but did honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified, soon after his death. Lepidus wished to usurp the authority of a dictator; and his proceedings were neither indirect, nor veiled with specious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions, which Sylla had not been able entirely to suppress. As for his colleague

[14] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, A. U. C. 675.

Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were strongly attached to him, and in respect to prudence and justice there was not a man in Rome who had a higher character; but he was more able to direct the civil government, than the operations of war. The crisis therefore called for Pompey, and he did not hesitate a moment which side to take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina [15], which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were much alarmed at the number of his forces; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, that he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army or was betrayed by them, had surrendered himself to Pompey; and, having received a party of horse as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey however sent Geminius the next day to despatch him, which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, that it was a measure which that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the very next day he put him to death, and wrote other letters containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who in concert with Cassius slew Cæsar. But the son bore

[15] *Hod.* Modena.

no resemblance to the sire, either in war or in his death, as appears from the Life which we have written of him. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia; where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but from having accidentally found a billet (as we are told) by which he discovered, that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being concentrated in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and more particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour, which is necessary for seizing and improving critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition, with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti, than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy-armed forces.

At this juncture Pompey, having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail upon the senate to send him to Metellus' assistance. In the mean time, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces, but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the desired command. On this occasion one of the senators, we are told, some-

what surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," he replied "but [*pro consulibus*] as the "representative of consuls:" intimating, by this, the incapacity of both the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nations, as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner, with respect to Pompey; and said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod "and a ferula to chastise the boy with, were it "not that he feared that old woman;" meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey, of whom he was afraid, and on his account he carried forward his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus had fallen into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed his soldier-like simplicity for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest, for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing affected him so much as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes[16]. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms; when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes

[16] See Life of Sertorius.

in his presence. In an engagement however near Valencia he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had sided with Sertorius and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid, that Metellus should come up; Pompey anxious to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful, one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the higher honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of gigantic size. While they were closely engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success; Pompey receiving only a slight wound, whereas he lopped off the hand of the other. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken: but he unexpectedly escaped, by relinquishing his horse with it's gold trappings and other valuable furniture to the barbarians, who quarrelled about the division of the spoil.

Next morning at break of day, both again drew up to decide the victory, to which both laid claim. But upon Metellus' arrival Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterward to reunite; so that he was often seen wandering alone, and as often like a torrent swelled with sudden rains, advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait upon Metellus; and upon approaching him ordered his lictors to lower the fasces, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it; and indeed in all respects he behaved to Pompey with the utmost politeness, assuming nothing on account of his consular dignity, or his seniority, except when they encamped together to give the parole. And they had frequently separate camps; for the enemy by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide their forces. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea: the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and to have recourse to those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops; declaring, that he would return with his army into Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus who was then consul, though he was upon bad terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible; because he wished himself to be employed in the Mithridatic war, and was therefore afraid to give Pompey a pretext for leaving Sertorius and soliciting the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

In the mean time Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers[17]; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his

[17] Three years after the consulate of Lucullus, B. C. 73.

place. He had indeed the same troops, the same magazines, and the same supplies; but he had not the same understanding, to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having received intelligence that Perpenna was much embarrassed as to the measures he should take, threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. Then, as soon as Perpenna had engaged in the pursuit of them, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and entirely defeated him. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, neither are we to suppose him (as some will have it) forgetful of the services, which he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind, that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna, having gotten the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed him letters, by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise fresh commotions and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey, fearing that those letters might excite greater wars than that which he was then on the point of finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burned the papers without having given them a perusal. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he accidentally arrived just as the Servile War was at it's height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon Pompey's arrival (who, he feared, might

snatch the laurels from his brow) resolved to come to a battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interwove this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they were flying after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had indeed beaten the gladiators "in a pitched battle, but that he himself had cut "up the war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain against Sertorius was ascribed by a single individual, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours, and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies, that he would not disband his army; but treading in Sylla's steps raise himself to sovereign power, and maintain himself in it by the sword [18]. Hence the number of those, that went out of fear to meet him and congratulate him upon his return, was equal to that of those who went out

[18] Cicero, in his Epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made no mystery of this unjustifiable ambition. The passages are remarkable: *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit:* Ειδως σοι λεγω, *nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit.* (vii. 9.) "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous "of obtaining a power like that of Sylla; I tell you no more "than what I know, for he makes no secret of it." And again, *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Syllaturit animus ejus, et proscripturit.* (Ib. 10.) "Pompey has been forming this infamous design for these two years past; so strongly "is he bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars Cæsar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues, viz. that he paid more attention to the commons, than to the senate; and that, in order to win the affections of the people, he had determined to re-establish the authority of the tribunes, which Sylla had destroyed. This was true: For there never was any thing upon which they so much set their hearts, or so extravagantly coveted, as to see the tribunitial power restored. So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity of bringing that affair about; knowing that, if any one should be beforehand with him in this design, he should never find any other means of making so agreeable a return for the people's regard.

A second triumph was decreed him [19], together with the consulship. But these were not considered, as the most extraordinary instances of his power. The strongest proof of his greatness was that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and the most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without having first asked Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long been wishing for an opportunity to lay him under an obligation, received the application with pleasure, and made strong interest with the people in his behalf; declaring, that he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague, as kindly as their favour to himself.

[19] He triumphed toward the end of A. U. C. 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without having first borne the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and his great services excused that deviation from the common rules.

Yet after their election they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored to them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order[80]. The spectacle however the most agreeable to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time prescribed by law, to lead his horse into the Forum, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given an account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. Upon these occasions they received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order; when Pompey was seen at a distance, with all the badges of his office as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his lictors to make an opening, and advanced with his horse in hand to the foot of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place: at the same time a joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors, the elder of whom addressed him as follows; "Pom-"pey the Great, I demand of you, whether or

[80] L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point, when he was prætor; and Plutarch says 'again,' because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

"not you have served all the campaigns required "by law?" With a loud voice he replied, "I "have served them all; and all under myself "as generalissimo." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations. At last the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was daily increasing, Cajus Aurelius[21], a man of the equestrian order who had never intermeddled with state-affairs, one day after the people were met in full assembly ascended the rostra, and said; "Jupiter "had appeared to him in a dream, and com-"manded him to acquaint the consuls, that they "must take care to be reconciled before they "laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace; but Crassus went up and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner. At the same time, he addressed the people as follows: "I think, my fellow-citizens, "there is nothing dishonourable or mean in mak-"ing the first advances to Pompey, whom you "dignified with the title of 'Great,' when he "was yet but a beardless youth, and to whom "you voted two triumphs before he was a se-"nator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former mode of life; but Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees left the bar. He seldom indeed appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a long train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy

[21] Ovatius Aurelius.

either to speak to him, or to see him, except in the midst of a crowd. He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of grandeur and majesty; and he was persuaded that dignity should be preserved unsoiled by the familiarity, and even by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are extremely liable to fall into contempt, when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to maintain that rank in the Forum, which he held in the field; and he, who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration of civil affairs. When therefore the latter has gotten the man, who shone in camps and triumphs, into the assemblies at home [and finds him claiming the same pre-eminence there] of course he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This quickly appeared from subsequent events.

The power of the pirates[22] had it's foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little noticed. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services which they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher

[22] For an account of this war see Hor. iii. 6., who concludes it with asking, *Quid prius in hâc mirere victoriâ? velocitatem, quòd quadragesimo die parta est? an felicitatem, quòd ne una quidem navis amissa est? an perpetuitatem, quòd amplius pirat non fuerunt?*

things; not only attacking ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons distinguished for their wealth, birth, and capacity embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well-manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity; but there was a parade of vanity about them, more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars; as if they took a pride, and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; and there the cities, which the pirates had taken, were paying their ransom, to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities taken to four hundred.

Temples, which till then had stood inviolably sacred, became subject to their rapine. They ruined that of Apollo at Claros, that where he was worshipped under the title of Didymæus[23], that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of Ceres[24]

[23] So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus, in Ionia. Claros was an island in the Ionian, and Samothrace in the Ægean sea.

[24] Pausanias (Lacon. iii. 14.) informs us, the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of 'Chthonia;' and (Coriuth. ii. 35.) he gives us the origin of that name: "The Argives say, "that Chthonia the daughter of Colontas, having been saved from "a conflagration by Ceres and conveyed to Hermione, built a "temple to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the "name of Chthonia." (L.) Hermiona and Epidaurus were both cities in Argolis; Tænarus, a promontory in Laconia, *Hod.* Cape Matapan; Calauria, a small island near Crete; Actium stood on the Gulf of Ambracia; Leucas lay at a little distance to the south;

at Hermiona, that of Æsculapius at Epidaurus; those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus, and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the isle of Leucas, and those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium[25].

They likewise offered strange sacrifices (those of Olympus, I mean[26]) and celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra, originally instituted by them, continue to this day[27]. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: They carried off Sextilius and Bellinus two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and lictors. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country-house[28], and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her release.

But the most contemptuous circumstance was that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to beg his pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble in their entreaties, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them: for some

and Samos was situated in an island of the same name, off the Ionian coast.*

[25] The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of 'Leucanium,' but two MSS. give us 'Lacinium.' Livy often mentions Juno Lacinia, xlii. 28, &c. &c. See also Cic. de Div. i. 24.

[26] Not mount, but the city Olympus, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there, is not known.

[27] According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres or Mithra; but the sun, which is an object of adoration in that country, is here probably meant by this word, as it's vernacular signification is 'Lord.'

[28] At Misenum. See Cic. pro. Leg. Manil. 12.

were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might not again be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him "go in peace;" and if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely intercepted: in consequence of which their markets were ill supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, made them project sending Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinius one of Pompey's intimate friends proposed the decree[29], which created him, not admiral but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. It gave him the empire of the sea as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire, which this commission did not include; it comprehended likewise the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and the most powerful kings. Beside this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants to act under him, in such districts and with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners, and of rowers was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the

[29] This law was made A. U. C. 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. That general was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero, (De Prov. Consular.) was a man of infamous character.

people accepted it with inconceiveable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They all therefore, except Cæsar, opposed it's passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard to Pompey, but in order to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, whom he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the consuls venturing to say [30], "If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his "fate," incurred the risk of being torn in pieces by the populace.

When Catulus indeed rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person, they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey all due honour, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for what other will you have," said he, "if "you should lose him?" With one voice they exclaimed, "Yourself". Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Upon this, Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not one of them would listen to him. He made signs to them however, with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the forum, was stunned with the force of it and fell down among the crowd [31]. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall upon such occasions, it is not because

[30] The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Acilius Glabrio.

[31] Another instance of this we have in the Life of Haminius *.

the air is so divided with the shock, as to leave a vacuum; but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent and so surge-like an agitation.

The assembly then broke up, without having come to any resolution. Upon the day appointed for receiving their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and on learning that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Early the next morning, however, he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had bestowed. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors allowed. As the price of provisions immediately fell, the people were highly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "That the very name "of Pompey had terminated the war."

In pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had got out in time, and could escape the general chace retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself, with sixty of his best galleys; but he resolved first to scour the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily of all

piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. As the consul Piso however was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundusium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they sallied out in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the unexpected speed with which he had executed his commission, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose: but Pompey would not suffer him to bring it forward. On the contrary, his speech to the people was full of candour; and after having provided such things as he wanted, he set off for Brundusium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed past many cities without stopping, yet he went ashore at Athens, entered the town, and sacrificed to the Gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared immediately to re-imbark. As he went out of the gate, he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line: That within the gate was,

But know thyself a man, and be a god[32].

That without,

We wish'd, adored; we saw, and we attend.

[32] *Dis te minorem quòd geris, imperas.* (Hor. O. III. vi.)

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of similar kindness, and avoiding his licutenants surrendered themselves to Pompey, with their wives and children. They were all spared; and it was principally by their means, that he detected and seized many who had been guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore still concealed themselves.

Still however there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and useless hands into castles and strong fortresses upon Mount Taurus. They then manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated; after which, they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works as well as situation were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished within three months at the farthest, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed.

Beside the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass, and his prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death; and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably re-unite and cause future trouble. He reflected, that man is by nature, neither a savage nor an unsocial creature and that when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature: yet that even then he may be human-

ised by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life; as beasts that are naturally wild put off their fierceness, when they are kept in a domestic way. He determined therefore to remove the pirates to a considerable distance from the sea[33], and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities and by the culture of the ground. With this view he placed some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli[34], which had lately been dismantled and deprived of it's inhabitants by Tigranes king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, a considerable body, he planted in Dyma a city of Achaia, which though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such, as looked upon Pompey with envy, found fault with these proceedings; but his conduct with respect to Metellus, in Crete, was far from agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus, who had commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain; and he had been sent into Crete, some time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was, next after Cilicia, the greatest nursery of the pirates. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there; and the remainder, who were at this time besieged by him, suppliantly addressed themselves to Pompey, and invited him into the island as included in his commission, and falling within that distance from the sea, to which he was authorised to carry his arms. He listened to their

[33] This project is highly commended by Flor. iii. 6.

[34] This place, (situated near the mouth of the Cydnus,) he called, after his own name, Pompeiopolis.

application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time, he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the beseiged, and fought on their side: a circumstance, which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more absurd, than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet for their preservation! Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth, carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector,

> Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
> Before Pelides[35].

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus however pursued his operations, till he took the pirates, and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When intelligence was brought to Rome that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius one of the tribunes of the people proposed a decree, giving him all the provinces and forces under Lucullus, and adding likewise Bithynia which was at that time governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, for which purpose he was also to retain

[35] Hom. Il. xxii. 207.

his naval command. This was subjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man. For the provinces, which the former decree did not give him, viz. Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this; together with all the forces, which under Lucullus had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours which he had dearly earned, and was superseded rather in his triumph, than in the war; but that was not, what affected the patricians the most deeply. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus had been treated with injustice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumstance, to observe a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a tyranny[36]. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke upon the occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill: and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and called upon them many times from the rostrum; "To seek[37]

[36] "We have at last then," said they, "a sovereign; the republic "is changed into a monarchy: the services of Lucullus, the ho- "nour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy senators, "are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never "carried his tyranny so far as this." Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure for him, than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct his vast designs.

[37] In this, as Catulus was addressing himself to the senators, he alludes more probably (according to M. Dusoul) to the retreat into the capitol at the time of the irruption of the Gauls, than to the secession of the plebeians to the Mons Sacer; though the latter, in it's accompanying circumstances, seems to bear a stronger analogy to the case in question.*

"some mountain, as their ancestors had done, some "rock whither they might fly for the preservation "of their liberty."

We are told however that the bill was passed by all the tribes, and almost the same universal authority conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla could only gain by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends who happened to be present congratulated him on the occasion, he knit his brows, (we are told,) smote his thigh, and expressed himself, as if he was already overburthened and wearied with the weight of power[38]: "Alas! "and is there then no end of my conflicts? How "much better would it have been to remain one of "the undistinguished many, than to be perpetually "engaged in war? Shall I never be able to fly from "envy to a rural retreat, and conjugal endear-"ments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew, that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference between himself and Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference upon that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled Lucullus' acts, remitting the fines which he had imposed, and taking away the rewards which he had be-

[38] Is it possible to read this, without recollecting the similar character of our Richard III?

Alas! why would you heap these cares on me?
I am unfit for state and majesty:—&c.
Shaksp. Rich. III. iii. 7.

stowed. In short, he let slip no opportunity of showing the partisans of that general, that all his authority was gone.

Of this treatment Lucullus naturally complained; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to have an interview; accordingly, they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the lictors had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route had led him through chill and naked wastes. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which Lucullus' attendants no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his fasces with them. This seemed to be an omen, that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus' victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had, at first, the appearance of much politeness and courtesy. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations: But they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation, and proceeded to scurrility; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with lust of money, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of lust of power, insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared that he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution; and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who (he knew) were so mutinous that they would be as unserviceable to himself, as they

had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage Lucullus,' conduct, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucullus," he said "were only "mock-battles, and he had fought with nothing "but the shadows of kings: but that it was left "for himself to contend with real strength, and "well-disciplined armies; since Mithridates had "betaken himself to swords and shields, and "knew how to make a proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pom-"pey, to fight with phantoms and shadows of "war: for, like a dastardly bird, he had been "accustomed to prey upon those whom he had "not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a "dying opposition. Thus he had arrogated to "himself the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, "and of Spartacus, which originally belonged to "Metellus, to Catulus, and to Crassus. He was "not surprised therefore, that he was now come "to claim the honour of finishing the wars of "Armenia and Pontus, after he had thrust him-"self into a triumph over the fugitive slaves."

In a little time, Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but durst not risk an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was

in a short time plentifully supplied with water[39]. He was not a little surprised, that this had never occurred to Mithridates, during the whole time of his lying there encamped.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick and disabled. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but, fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream, prefiguring what was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awakened him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey, seeing them prepared, was loth to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to have surrounded them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than those of the enemy. The oldest of his officers however entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at

[39] Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before, in the Macedonian war. See his Life.

last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops, that she was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the others could form no just estimate of their distance, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do any execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation, that they made not the least stand, and vast numbers were slain in their flight. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of whom was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. Mounted and attired like a Persian cavalier, she did not in the least complain of the length of their journies; though in addition to the fatigue of them she waited upon the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle of Inora [40], where his treasure and other moveables of the greatest value were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and bestowed them upon those who repaired to him after their flight. He furnished

[40] It seems from a passage in Strabo (xii.) that instead of 'Inora,' we should read, 'Sinoria;' for that was one of the seventy-five fortresses, which Mithridates had built partly as his treasuries between the Greater and the Less Armenia.

each of his friends likewise with a quantity of poison, that none of them against their will might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora, his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the source of the Euphrates directed his flight through Colchis.

In the mean time, Pompey entered Armenia upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes it's rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends it's course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian sea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital, and taking his friends and relations with him went to surrender himself. As he rode up to the entrenchments, two of Pompey's lictors advanced, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; assuring him, that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his sword, and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it took him by the hand, and placed him on one side, and his son on the other. Then, addressing himself to the father, he said; "As to "what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucul- "lus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœ-

"nicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene [41]. But "what you kept till my time, I will restore to "you, on condition that you pay the Romans a "fine of six thousand talents for the injury which "you have done them. Your son I will make "king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so fortunate in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him 'king,' that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a mina, every centurion ten minæ, and every tribute a talent. But his son was displeased at the determination; and, when he was invited to supper, said, "He had "no need of such honours from Pompey; for he "could find another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long afterward, Phraates king of Parthia sent to demand the young prince, as his son-in-law; and to propose, that the Euphrates should be the boundary between himself and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly "nearer to his father, than to his father-in-law; "and, as for the boundary, justice should decide "the matter."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering upon mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The territories of the latter touch upon the Moschian mountains, and the kingdom of Pontus; the former stretch more toward the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. These, at first, granted Pompey a passage: But, as winter overtook him in their dominions, they seized the opportunity of the Sa-

[41] This country lay to the north of Comagene and Mesopotamia*.

turnalia (which the Romans religiously observe) to assemble their forces, to the number of forty thousand men, with the resolution of attacking them; and for that purpose they passed the Cyrnus[42]. The Cyrnus rises in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in it's course by the Araxes from Armenia, discharges itself, by twelve mouths, into the Caspian sea. Some say, the Araxes does not unite with it[43], but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have prevented it; and then attacked and routed them, having killed immense numbers upon the spot. Their king sent embassadors to beg for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him his offence, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were anxious to signalise their zeal for Mithridates by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians had never been subject to the Medes, or to the Persians: They had escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to quit Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated them in a great battle, in which he slew not less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with considerable difficulties; for he had

[42] Strabo xi. and Pliny call this river 'Cyrus,' and so Plutarch probably wrote it. It was anciently called 'Corus,' and had it's name changed by Cyrus. (Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6.)

[43] This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis[44]. Besides, intelligence was brought to Pompey, that the Albanians had revolted. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger, that he repassed the Cyrnus, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with palisades to a great distance along the banks. And when he had effected his passage, he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he obviated, by filling ten thousand bottles: and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas[45], to the number of sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse; but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind except skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis; who at the beginning of the battle singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey in return ran him through with his spear, and laid him dead upon the spot. It is said that the Amazons, from the mountains near the river Thermodon, came to the assistance of the barbarians in this battle. The Romans, amidst the plunder of the field, did indeed find some bucklers in the form of a half-moon[46], and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a single woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus, which stretches toward the Hyrcanian sea, and are not

[44] *Hod.* The Straits of Caffa, and the Sea of Asoph.

[45] This river takes it's rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it 'Albanus.' In Plutarch's account of the vast number and little discipline of the Albanian forces, Strabo completely concurs.

[46] See Virg. Æn. i. 490. xi. 663.

next neighbours to the Albanians, for Gelæ and Læges lie between: but they annually meet that people, and spend two months with them on the banks of the Thermodon; after which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea, and march by it's coasts into Hyrcania[47]: but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome, that he was forced to return, when three days' additional march would have carried him as far as he proposed. His next route was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to embassadors from the kings of the Elymæans[48] and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. In the mean time, the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was committing great ravages among the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelitis.

Of all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he did not touch one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters, or wives, of

[47] Ελαυνειν επι την Υρκανιαν, και Κασπιαν θαλασσαν. Here Plutarch mentions the Caspian sea after Hyrcania. But as that sea lies very near Albania, there was no necessity for Pompey to go through Hyrcania to reach it. He meant, perhaps, it's farther extremity. (L.) Of the venomous serpents abounding in this country, Strabo (xi.) informs us, some inflict death accompanied by laughter, and some by tears*.

[48] Strabo (xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Messabatice, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were so confident in the bravery of their highland archers and their great population, as to have refused submission to the king of Parthia. Gordyene, mentioned below, was a Persian province.

the state-officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the most valuable part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates at an entertainment; and he was so much pleased with her that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had not spoken a single kind word to himself. But when he waked the next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a crowded retinue of eunuchs and pages who offered him rich robes, and before his gate a horse* with the magnificent housing provided for those who are called 'the king's friends.' All this he thought nothing but mockery and insult, and therefore prepared for flight; but the servants stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first-fruits, a small earnest of the favours and possessions intended for him. At last, he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary: he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and as he rode through the city cried out, "All this is "mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him; when he told them, "They should not be "surprised at this behaviour of his, but rather "wonder that he did not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung STRATONICE!

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made

* That the present of a horse, royally apparelled, was usually made by Eastern princes to their favourites, we may learn (among other passages) from Esth. vi. 8, 10. *

him many magnificent presents: he took nothing however, except what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest, he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged him to accept them as tokens of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon, he found the private papers of Mithridates[50]; and he perused them with great pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took it's rise, merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations, both of his own dreams, and of those of his wives; and the lascivious letters, which had passed between Monime and himself. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius[51], exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia. But most people believe, that this was a malicious invention of Theophanes to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, as being a perfect contrast to himself; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was

[50] We learn likewise from Esther (ii. 23. vi. 1. &c.) that it was the custom of Oriental sovereigns to keep exact registers of whatever was transacted at their courts *.

[51] P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in A. U. C. 649. Cicero in several parts of his works, particularly Orat. pro. Font. 13., gives him a high character. He was subsequently banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, of which Appian made great use.

represented in Rutilius's histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus, where his ambition impelled him to some very obnoxious measures. He had severely censured Lucullus, for having disposed of provinces at a time when the war still subsisted, and for having bestowed other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors usually grant after their wars are absolutely terminated. And yet while Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had reassembled a respectable army, he himself was guilty of the very same thing: as if he had finished the whole, he bestowed governments, and distributed other rewards to his friends. Upon that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of 'King of Kings,' by which he was ordinarily addressed.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passing thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might extend his conquests in every direction to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa, he was the first, whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain, he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order therefore to include the Red Sea likewise in the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he perceived it would be difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to manage in flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "He "would leave him a stronger enemy than the Ro- "mans to cope with, which was famine." In

pursuance of this intention, he directed a number of ships to cruise about, and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and ordained that death should be the punishment of such, as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the largest part of his army, he found the bodies of those Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius[52] and Mithridates, still uninterred, and gave them an honourable burial: the omission of this, indeed, seems not a little to have contributed to the hatred, which the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about Mount Amanus by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king[53]. He reduced Judæa, and took it's king Aristobulus prisoner. He founded some cities, and set others free, punishing the tyrants by whom they had been enslaved. But the greatest part of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself, he sent his friends: The Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred their difference about some territory to his decision, he despatched three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power stood high,

[52] Triarius was defeated by Mithridates, three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken. See the Life of Lucullus.

[53] Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than twelve thousand Jews in the action. He entered the temple, contrary to their law; but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or of the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterward consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This was what palliated most of his faults, as well as those of his friends and acquaintances. He did not know how to restrain or to punish the offences of those, whom he employed; but he gave so gracious a reception to such as came to complain of them, that they went away not repining at what they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was his freedman Demetrius, a youth who in other respects did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. They tell us the following story of him: Cato the philosopher then a young man, but already eminent for his virtue and magnanimity went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. This journey, according to his custom, he performed on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, he perceived an immense number of people before the gates all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side and of boys on the other. The sight gave him pain; for he thought it a compliment and attention intended for himself, which he did not desire. He ordered his friends, however, to alight and walk with him As soon as they were near them, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown upon his head and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them; "Where they had left Demetrius, "and when he might be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato himself exclaimed, "Alas, poor city!" and so passed onward.

Others, indeed, might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Frequently, when he was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of li-

berty[54] pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends[55]; and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house, till his third triumph. He afterward built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome; and, as an appendage to it, a house much handsomer than the former, but still not ostentatiously large: for he, who succeeded him in the possession of it, was surprised at his first entrance, and asked; "Where is the room in which "Pompey the Great used to sup?" Such is the account, which we have of these matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had, hitherto, considered the Romans in no formidable light; but he felt real apprehensions of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him, that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, in order to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused from pursuing Mithridates; against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome, and one who (according to all accounts) had so far recovered his strength, as to propose

[54] The word ἱματιον here signifies 'the cap of liberty worn by freedmen,' not the flaps of a robe, which was all that the other Romans had to cover their heads with. They commonly, indeed, went bare-headed.

[55] The Latin translator renders των ἡδυγηριων τα καλλιστα, *pulcherrima gymnasia*; and Dacier, *les plus beaux parcs pour les exercices de la jeunesse*; but Athenæus (x.) gives us a more apposite sense of the word ἡδυγηρια, καλεισθαι τα συμποσια. Dining-rooms might be called ἡδυγηρια, because youth and mirth convey similar ideas.

marching through Scythia and Pæonia [56] into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when he was at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight; and he therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and in the mean time to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; who obviously brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers, seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and receive it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf (which was the common method) they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, on which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. He killed himself, upon the "revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces "has taken possession of all that belonged to "his father, which he declares he has done jointly "for himself and the Romans." At this intelligence the army, as might naturally be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods and in reciprocal entertainments, as if in Mithridates ten thousand of their enemies had been slain.

[56] A province of Macedon; but some, and among them Amyot, read Pannonia. *Hod.* Hungary *.

Pompey, having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not easily be known, because the embalmer had not taken out the brain, and by it's corruption the features were disfigured. Yet some, who were curious to examine it, distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but in order to propitiate the avenging deity[57] sent it to Sinope. He viewed, however, and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which had cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius the foster-brother of Mithridates took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped Pompey's knowledge, but Pharnaces discovering it afterward punished the persons, who had been guilty of the theft.

Pompey, having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. On arriving at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes who was a native of that place. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey: And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it, but greater and more no-

[57] Nemesis.

ble, at Rome. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed to writing the discourse, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras another professor of rhetoric, concerning Invention in general[58]. He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to land in Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity, whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing for him a sad welcome on his return. Mucia[59], in his absence, had dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report; but upon his approach to Italy, after a more mature examination into the affair, without assigning his motive either then or afterward he sent her a divorce. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome, concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed them-

[58] Hermagoras, who was of the school of Aristotle and Theophrastus, was for reducing Invention under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question; which limitation Cicero disapproved, as much as his master Posidonius. (de Inv. Rhet. i. 6.) This Posidonius, who was of Apamea, in Syria, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

[59] Mucia was the sister of Metellus Celer, and Metellus Nepos; and was debauched by Cæsar. Hence when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife, by whom he had had three children, to espouse the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called 'his Ægisthus.' Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus says, *Divortium Muciæ vehementer probatur* "the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation." (I. xii.)

selves by thinking that he would immediately march his army thither and make himself it's sole and absolute master. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy: the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner disembarked, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and after a kind and proper address ordered them to disperse to their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, upon which occasion they were again to repair to him.

As soon as it was known, that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed and attended by a few friends, as if he were returning merely from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much larger force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso: but Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness, with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear so openly in their behalf, determined to gain him if possible; and, as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and proposed his son for the other. Cato however suspected the bait, and looked upon it as

intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the deep regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. In the mean time Pompey, being desirous to procure the consulship for Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in his own gardens. The thing was so public, that he was much censured for making that office venal, which he had himself obtained by his illustrious actions, and opening a way by purchase to the highest honour in the state for those who had not merit to deserve it. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged, that he was a better judge than themselves of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so magnificent, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from sufficient for the display of what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show, appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was stated, there had been not fewer than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken, eight hundred galleys captured from the pirates, and thirty-nine desolate cities re-peopled. It farther appeared from the tablets that, whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted only to fifty millions of drachmas, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pom-

pey had brought into the public treasury, in money and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, beside what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives, who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes king of Armenia together with his wife and daughter, Zosima the wife of Tigranes himself, Aristobulus king of Judæa, the sister of Mithridates with her five sons, and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene, also appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited, as Pompey either in person or by his lieutenants had gained victories, the number of which was not small.

But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others, before him, had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three united seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those, who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander perfect, tell us that he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas in fact he was entering upon his fortieth year[60]. Happy had it been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was blest with Alexander's good fortune! Throughout the rest of his life, every instance of

[60] It should be 'forty-sixth year.' Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August or (according to Pigh. Ann., Plin. xxxvii. 2.) the last of September, A. U. C. 647, and his triumph was in the same month, A. U. C. 692.

success brought it's proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable. For the authority, which he had gained by his merit, he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As, in a siege, every strong work that is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by Pompey's influence, turned that strength which enabled him to trample upon his country against Pompey himself. This happened in the following manner: Lucullus, who had been so unworthily treated by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome met with the most honourable reception from the senate; and they gave him still higher marks of their esteem after Pompey's arrival, endeavouring to rouse his ambition, and prevail upon him to stand forward in the administration. But his spirit and activity were by this time on the decline: and he had abandoned himself to the pleasures of ease, and the enjoyments of wealth. He bore up however against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate, through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and to the young plebians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the Forum, in a manner far beneath his dignity; and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself

with the people. And, as if the connexion with him had been an honour instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; viz. that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the utmost use to him in the administration. These wages he obtained. For when Cicero was involved in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and shutting his gates against those who came to intercede for him, went out at a back-door. Cicero therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, privately left Rome.

At this time Cæsar returning from his province[61] undertook an affair, which rendered him very popular at present, and in it's consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and as Crassus and Pompey were at variance, as perceiving that if he should join the one, the other would of course be his enemy, he set himself to reconcile them. A thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good: but the intention was insidious, though deeply laid and covered with the most refined policy. For while the power of the state was divided, it preserved an equilibrium, as the burthen of a ship properly distributed keeps it from inclining to one side more than another; but when that power was all collected into one part, having nothing for a counterbalance, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth. Hence, when some were observing that the constitution

[61] It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile, that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of Prætor, but two years before. Cæsar returned A. U. C. 693, and Cicero quitted Rome A. U. C. 695.

was ruined by the difference which afterward took place between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under an egregious mistake: It "was not their late disagreement, but their "former union and connection, which gave the "constitution it's first and deadliest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed his consulship: and he was no sooner appointed, than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies and for the distribution of lands; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato was preparing to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner; when Cæsar placed Pompey by his side upon the tribunal, and asked him before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his "laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, demanded farther, "If any one then shall with "violence oppose them, will you come to the "assistance of the people!" Pompey replied, "Most certainly; and against those, who threaten "to take the sword, I will bring both sword and "buckler."

Pompey, till that day, had never said any thing so obnoxious; and his friends could only allege, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him: but from subsequent events it appeared, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion. For within a few days, to the surprise of all Rome, he married Julia Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio and was upon the point of being given to him. To appease Cæpio's resentment, he bestowed upon him his own daughter, who had been previously contracted to Faustus the son of Sylla: and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried every thing by open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the Forum in company with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his fasces. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon Bibulus' head; and two tribunes of the people, who attended him, were wounded. The Forum thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became perfectly tractable; and, without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls on this and the other side of the Alps, and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar with four complete legions for five years. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were selected as consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained wholly inattentive to the functions of his office[a]; contenting himself with publishing manifestos, full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato upon this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities which would befal the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state-affairs, and betook himself to

[a] Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, 'Such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus,' said, 'It happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.' (Sueton. Jul. Cæs. 20.)

repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it was more unseasonable for "an old man to give himself up to luxury, than "to bear a public employment." Yet notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be enfeebled by the love of a young woman: he gave up his whole time to her, and spent with her entire days in his villas and gardens, to the complete neglect of public affairs; insomuch that even Clodius the tribune began to hold him in contempt, and to engage in the boldest designs against him. For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was set off upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all his measures, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances: he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him ascended an eminence, and put the following questions: "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is "the man, that seeks for a man[63]? Who scratches "his head with one finger[64]?" And his creatures like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his

[63] Τις ανηρ ζητει ανδρα; this was a proverbial expression, brought from Athens to Rome, and originally taken from Æsop's seeking an honest man with a lanthorn at noon-day; from which it gradually came to signify that loss of the manly character, which Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

[64] *Uno scalpere digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman *petit-maitre*.

shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, "Pompey[65]."

These things gave Pompey uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be reviled, and he was entirely unexperienced in that sort of war. What afflicted him most, however, was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the Forum, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of Clodius' servants was observed creeping in among the crowd toward Pompey with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to encounter the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse which might be expected from him; and he therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends, how he might best disarm the anger of the senate and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to divorce Julia, and to exchange Cæsar's friendship for that of the senate; but he would not listen to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recal Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the senate's favourite; and to that overture[66], he agreed. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers he conducted into the Forum Cicero's brother, who was to apply to the people in his behalf; and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded and some slain, he overpowered Clodius,

[65] Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in A. U. C. 697, as appears from Dio. (xxxix.) that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

[66] See Dion. Cass. xxxix. 6.

and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to entrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn [67], made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire both by sea and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the "law was not enacted on account of the real scar- "city of provisions; but that an artificial scarcity "had been caused for the sake of procuring the "law, and that Pompey by a new commission "might bring his power, from it's present state "of deliquium, to fresh life and vigour." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, in order to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom [68].

The tribune Canidius however brought in a bill, proposing that Pompey should be sent without an army, and with only two lictors, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey himself did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the Forum and before the senate-house, representing it as Ptolemy's ear-

[67] This law likewise gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy (Id. ib. 9.) L. See also Cic. Ep. ad. Att. iv. i. He had before procured for him this absolute power by the Manilian law. *

[68] Ptolemy Auletes the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects and forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom. (Id. ib. 12. &c.)

nest wish, that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions of enriching himself and the honour of new commands. But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was nothing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he despatched his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected immense quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor with these decisive words, "It is necessary to "go; it is not necessary to live." His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and coveredthe sea with his ships; insomuch that the overplus affonded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time, the wars in Gaul had lifted Cæsar to the highest sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a considerable distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ[69], the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius was all the while privately at work among the Romans and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the

[69] The Belgæ inhabited the Low Countries, and the Suevi, the tracts beyond the Elbe *.

barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army indeed in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body in hunting and other diversions of the field; by which he prepared them for more important conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a strong party. When therefore he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay him their respects, there appeared two hundred senators, including Pompey and the forces of Crassus in the number; and the fasces of not fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors were to be seen at his gates. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of high things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them by sending a large number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces and take the command of armies according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had for five additional years.

As soon as this treaty became public, the principal persons in Rome were deeply offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, placed himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether or not they intended to stand for the "consulship." Pompey spoke first, and said[70],

[70] Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character; "It is not on account of the virtuous and the good, that I

"Perhaps he might, perhaps he might not." Crassus, with more moderation, replied; "He "should do what appeared most expedient for "the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said; "Where is the "honour of that man, who has neither gratitude "nor respect for him that made him an orator, "that rescued him from want and raised him "to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up: "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for the consulship, but in "defence of liberty against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour, with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. They were therefore afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. Hence they resolved not to suffer Domitius to enter the Forum, and despatched a party of men well-armed, who killed Melitus his torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were conducted with equal irregularity. For in the first place, when the people were about to choose Cato prætor, at the very moment of taking their suffrages, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending that he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds[71]. After-

"desire any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to "restrain the ill-disposed and the seditious."

[71] This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, very properly attempted to put a stop to this mode of dis-

ward the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antias and Vatinius prætors. They then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, induced Trebonius one of the tribunes to propose a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was prolonged to Cæsar for five additional years; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa and both the Spains[72], with four legions, two of which on Cæsar's request he lent him for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, in order to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which five hundred lions were killed; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle[73]. These things gained him the love and admiration of the public: but he again incurred their displeasure, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her or her's for him, that kept him so much with her, is

missing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations in the heavens, while the people were actually assembled.

[72] The Hither and the Farther, separated by the Ebro. It was subsequently divided by Augustus into three parts, Tarraconensis, Bœtica, and Lusitania, of which the latter now forms the kingdom of Portugal *.

[73] Dio (xxxix. 38.) says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them; and some of them, he adds, seemed to appeal with piteous cries to the people, who compassionately saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done to them. (Plin. H. N. viii. 1.)

uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of, than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, at an age when his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which notwithstanding his natural gravity was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtesan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared upon occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was an immense crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. Such however was her terror, and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connection with Cæsar, could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was subsequently pregnant, and brought him a daughter, but she unfortunately died in child-bed; neither did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the Campus Martius. This they did out of regard rather to the young woman, than to either Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours which they paid her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a more considerable share, than any respect for Pompey who was upon the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in extreme agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather co-

vered than restrained the ambition of the two noble competitors for power, was now no more[74]. To add to the misfortune, intelligence was soon afterward brought that Crassus had been slain[75] by the Parthians; and, in him, another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had hitherto kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion, who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

> High spirit of emprize
> Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
> And dip their hands in dust.

So little able is fortune to fill the capacity of the human mind, when such a weight[76] of power and extent of command could not satisfy the ambition of two men! They had heard and read, that the gods

> The world by lot in triple sway controll'd,
> And each was happy in the realm he rul'd[77].

and still these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for their two selves.

Yet Pompey in an address to the people at that time told them, "He had received every commis-

[74] *Morte tua discussa fides, bellumque movere*
Permissum est ducibus: stimulos dedit æmula virtus.
(Luc. 1.)*

[75] *Crassus erat belli medius mora.* (Id. ib.)*

[76] 'Weight' is not the literal signification of βαθος, but approaches as nearly as we could make it; for 'depth' of power would not read so well. Τοσουτον βαθος ηγεμονιας is an expression similar to that of St. Paul (Rom. xi. 33.) Ω ΒΑΘΟΣ πλουτου και σοφιας και γνωσεως Θεου.

[77] Plutarch alludes here to Hom. (Il. xv. 189.) where Neptune gives Iris an account of the partition-treaty between himself and his imperial brothers, Jupiter and Pluto*.

"sion, with which they had honoured him, sooner "than he had himself expected; and laid it "down sooner, than had been expected by the "world." And, indeed, the dismission of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now, being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by high employments at home; and this, without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to distrust, on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. When he saw the great offices of state however not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced and his adversaries preferred by money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to elect Pompey to this office. Cato however opposed it so effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, that he neither solicited nor desired the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were chosen consuls [78].

The same anarchy and confusion afterward

[78] A. U. C. 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they unblushingly distributed it among the heads of factions, and those who received it employed force and violence in their favour; so that scarcely any office was bestowed, which had not been previously disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

again took place, and numbers began more boldly to suggest the creation of a dictator. Cato, now fearing that he should be overborne, thought it better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to entrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate that he should be appointed sole consul. "For thus," said he, "the commonwealth will either recover from her "disorder, or if she must serve, she will serve a "man of the highest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and, when Cato rose up, it was expected that he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should "never have been the first to propose such an ex- "pedient, but as it was proposed by another, he "thought it advisable to embrace it; for he pre- "ferred any kind of government to anarchy, and "he knew no man fitter than Pompey to rule in a "time of so much trouble." The senate adopted his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul; and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the Interrex, Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to him for his support, and desired his private advice as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato replied, "That Pompey was not under the least "obligation to him; for what he had said, was not "out of regard to him, but to his country. If "you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give "you my advice in private; if not, I shall take "care to inform you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato upon all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married

Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio[79]. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married when very young to Publius the son of Crassus, who had lately fallen in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms, beside her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had considerably improved herself by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation, which such studies are apt to generate in women of her age: and her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many however were displeased at this matel, on account of the disproportion of years; thinking Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son, than to himself. Such as were capable of deeper reflection, thought he neglected the concerns of the commonwealth which had chosen him for her sole physician, and director in her distresses. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity; since it would never have been conferred upon him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in prosperity.

His first step was to bring to account those, who had gained employments by bribery and corruption; and he made laws, by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects, he behaved with the utmost dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But

[79] The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli. (Suppl. Liv. cvii. 46.)

when Scipio his father-in-law was impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the Forum to his house by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself by appearing in behalf of Plancus[80], and pronouncing an eulogium upon his character. Cato who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ears; declaring, "It was not right for him to hear such illegal pa-"negyrics." For this he was challenged and set aside, before sentence was passed. To the great confusion of Pompey, however, Plancus was condemned by the other judges.

A few days afterward, Hypsæus a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner. But Pompey passed on with disdain, and simply answered, "That his importunities "served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach. But all the rest of his conduct merited praise, and he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. For the remaining five months, he took his father-in-law as colleague. His governments were continued to him four years longer and he was allowed a thousand talents a-year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to

[80] Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence, as appears from his epistle to Marius. (Ep. Fam. vii. 2.) The mode above-mentioned, of regulating courts of judicature by a band of soldiers, sounds oddly to an English ear *.

represent, that some consideration should likewise be had of him, and his many signal and laborious exertions for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces which he had conquered, and enjoy his honour undisturbed, and that no successor might rob him of the glory of his exploits. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to deprecate the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship [81]. Cato opposed this with all his power, and insisted, "That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and re- "turn as a private man, if he had any favour to "ask of his country." And as Pompey did not contest the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared the more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose they were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, from which however he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there

[81] There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clause, which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

was not a single town or village, which did not solemnise the occasion with festivals. No place could furnish room for the crowds, that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle, but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy which he conceived upon this occasion, added to his own high opinion of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that bidding adieu to the prudence which had hitherto placed his good fortune and his actions upon a sure footing, he indulged the most extravagant presumption and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch that he declared, "He had no need of arms, or of any "extraordinary preparations against him, since "he could pull him down with much more ease "than he had set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "did not know his own "strength and the influence of his name, if he "sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon "whom his own forces would turn, as soon as "they set their eyes on his adversary; such was "their hatred of the one, and their affection for "the other."

With this account Pompey was so much elated, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner against Rome,

they did not see what forces they had to oppose to him, with an open and smiling countenance he bade them give themselves no pain; "For if," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground in "any part of Italy, both infantry and cavalry "will instantly spring up."

In the mean time, Cæsar was making the greatest exertions. He was now not far from Italy, and he not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the Consul was of the number, and he had fifteen hundred talents[88] for changing sides. So were likewise Curio one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who out of friendship for Curio had stood engaged with him for the money.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house waiting the issue of the debates, was informed that they would not give Cæsar a continuation of his command, he laid his hand upon his sword, and said; "But this shall give it."

All the actions and preparations, indeed, of his general tended that way; though Curio's demands, in behalf of Cæsar, seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to retain his. "If they are both reduced "to a private station," said he, "they will agree "upon reasonable terms; or, if each retains his "respective power, they will be satisfied. But "he who weakens the one, without doing the

[88] 290,625*l.* sterling. With this money (which proves the immense extent of his exactions in Gaul, abundantly retaliated of late by Gallic exactions in Italy) he built the stately Basilica, that afterward bore his name.

"same by the other, doubles the force which he "fears will subvert the government[83]."

Upon this, Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. Curio however, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that the sense of the senate should again be taken upon the subject. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion, "That Cæsar should disband his army and Pom-"pey keep his," should separate to one part of the house; and there appeared a majority on that side of the question. His next proposal was, that the number of those should be taken who thought it right, "That both should lay down their "arms, and neither remain in command;" when Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest[84]. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the people, who received him with the loudest plaudits and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house, for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus[85] rose up and said, "I will no longer "sit to hear the matter canvassed; but, as I "see ten legions have already crossed the Alps,

[83] Cornelius Scipio one of Pompey's friends remonstrated, that in the present case, a very great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul; since the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

[84] Dio, on the contrary, affirms that upon this question the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius, and Curio. (xli. 2.)

[85] This illustrious Roman, who was again consul in the following year (A. U. C. 704.) with Lentulus, was one of Cæsar's most inveterate enemies; and after the battle of Pharsalia retired to Athens. Yet Cæsar pardoned him: upon which, see Cic. pro Marcell.

"I will send a man to oppose them in behalf of "my country."

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the Forum, followed by the senate; and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, "Pompey, I charge you to assist your "country; for which purpose you shall make "use of your present troops, and levy what new "ones you please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But, when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist; others gave in their names in small numbers, and with no spirit; and the chief part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read to the people a letter of Cæsar's, well calculated to draw them over to his side. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give an account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, refused to assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, was endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed, that Cæsar should give up Gaul and disband the greatest part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree that he should keep only a single legion. But Lentulus was against it, and Cato crying out, "That Pompey was committing "a second error, in suffering himself to be so "imposed upon;" the negociation was unsuccessful.

At the same time intelligence arrived that Cæsar

had seized Ariminum,[96] a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly toward Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, however, was false. He had advanced with only three hundred horse, and five thousand foot: the rest of his forces were on the other side of the Alps; and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to throw his adversaries into confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. On coming to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing within himself the magnitude of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes upon the danger; and crying out in the Greek language, "Let the die be cast,"[97] marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus[98] asked him, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no high assurance, "That he "had the two legions lately returned to him by "Cæsar, and that out of the new levies he be-"lieved he should shortly be able to complete a "body of thirty thousand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave his opinion, that embassadors should immediately be despatched to Cæsar. Upon this one Favonius, a man otherwise of no bad character, but who by an insolent brutality affected to

[96] *Hod.* Rimini, on the coast of the Adriatic.

[97] Or, as we should vulgarly say "Here goes!" *

[98] Lucius Volcatius Tullus, a man of consular dignity.

imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "stamp upon the ground, and call forth the ar-"mies which he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with the utmost mildness; and, when Cato reminded him of his warnings as to Cæsar from the first, he replied, "Cato indeed had spoken more like a prophet, "but he himself had acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power: adding, that "those who were "the authors of great evils, knew best how to "cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other state-officers departed for their's.

Nearly the whole of Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the entire face of things. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it, fled as fast away from it; clearly perceiving, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs the well-disposed part of the city wanted strength, while the ill-disposed would be refractory and unmanageable. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear or sorrow or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch, that he frequently on the same day adopted a change of measures. Neither could he gain any certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because many persons brought him every casual report, and were angry if they did not obtain implicit belief.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected[89]. After

[89] The Latin word *tumultus*, which Plutarch has rendered

which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar, and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without having offered the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. In this alarming extremity, however, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a single individual who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was more considerable than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days afterward, Cæsar marched into Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved in general with great moderation and mildness to it's remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death; adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it, than to say "it." Metellus being thus frightened away, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; being anxious to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundusium and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. At the same time he despatched his father in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured

ταραχη, is a very incomprehensive one. The Romans did not call the commotions which happened among or near them, before direct hostilities were commenced, by the name of 'war;' they distinguished them by the term, *tumultus*.

the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundusians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption, and he then suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence[90], he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight; and, in his eagerness to pursue him would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets[91], and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar however could not help wondering that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should thus have resigned and deserted Italy. Cicero[92] likewise

[90] Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land-side, but undertook to shut up the port by a staccado of his own invention. Before the work however could be completed, Pompey made his escape. See the details in Cæs. B. C. i.

[91] This passage may perhaps mean, "That he avoided the "principal streets, and came by many windings and turnings to "the haven."

[92] Ep. ad Att. vii. 11.

blamed him for having imitated the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the measures which Cæsar adopted shewed, that he was afraid of a protraction of the war: For having taken Numerius[93], a friend of Pompey, he had sent him to Brundusium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms. But Numerius, instead of bringing back an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus make himself master of all Italy in sixty days, without the least bloodshed; and he would have been glad to have proceeded immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the mean time, Pompey assembled a large army, and at sea he was altogether invincible: for he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his shallops and pinnaces was still more considerable. With regard to his land-forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy[94], all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw undisciplined soldiers: He therefore exercised them during his stay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but performed all the exercises of

[93] Cæsar calls him 'Cn. Magius.' He was master of Pompey's Board of Works.

[94] Cæsar on the contrary says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers: "There were six hundred "Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two "hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls or Germans, eight "hundred raised out of his own estates or out of his own retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and assigns to their respective countries. (B. C. iii. 4.)

a soldier, as if he had been in the vigour of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour and on foot; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with exactness, but with such force, that few of the young men could dart it to a farther distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was sufficient to compose a complete senate. Labienus[95], who had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus, who had been killed by him (not in the most honourable manner) in the Cisalpine Gaul[96], a man of spirit that had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as his father's murtherer, now ranged himself under his banners as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero likewise, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear

[95] It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar who had loaded him with honours, and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps while he was at Rome. But he assigns this reason for it: "Labienus, "elated with his immense wealth and proud of his preferments, "forgot himself to such a degree, as to assume a character very "unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for "putting himself upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon "grew cool toward him, and treated him with some reserve: this "Labienus resented, and went over to Pompey. (xli. 4.)

[96] The former English translator renders this 'Galatia.' He ought to have remembered that the Brutus in question was killed by Geminius in a village near the Po by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his submission, if not promised him his life. The authors of the Universal History have copied the error.

in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius too, though extremely old and maimed of one leg, repaired among the rest to his standard in Macedon; and though others only laughed and scoffed at his decrepid appearance, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him, than he rose up and ran to meet him; considering it as an illustrious proof of the justice of his cause, that in spite of age and weakness persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and on Cato's motion passed a decree, "that no Ro-"man should be killed except in battle, nor any "city that was subject to the Romans plun-"dered," his party daily gained ground. Those, who lived at too great a distance or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and with words at least contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and to men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Cæsar, indeed, made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately taken possession of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he repassed the Alps and marched through Italy to Brundusium, where he arrived at the time of the winter-solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; whence he despatched Vibullius[97] one of Pompey's friends, whom he had

[97] In the printed text it is 'Jubius;' but one of the MSS. gives us 'Vibullius,' which is the name he has in Cæsar (B. C. iii. 10.) Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp. That general had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival; but he was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he imme-

brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between himself and Pompey, "in which "they should agree to disband their armies within "three days, renew their friendship, confirm it "with solemn oaths, and then both return to "Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore hastily marched down to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land-forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that not a single wind blew, which did not bring him either provisions or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle. Accordingly, he daily attacked Pompey's entrenchments, and bade him defiance. In most of these attacks and skirmishes, he had the advantage; but one day he was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand of them upon the spot: but he was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp along with them. Cæsar said to his friends upon the occasion, "This day the victory would "have been the enemy's, had their general known "how to conquer."[98]

diately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

[98] Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals: and we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp, he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's most fatal error seems to have been, his suffer-

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself wrote to the kings, generals, and cities in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while, he dreaded the issue of a general action; believing it much better by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had ever been invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that therefore they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania[99] to Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion, which Pompey's soldiers entertained of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar "is fled." Some called upon the general to pursue; some, to pass over to Italy. Others despatched their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the Forum, for the convenience of soliciting the high offices of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her on the conclusion of the war.

Upon this emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they ought immediately to regain Italy, "for that was the grand object of the war. Si-

ing himself by the importunity of his officers and soldiers, against his own better judgement, to be brought to an action at last.

[99] A district of Epirus.

" cily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both the " Gauls would soon submit to those, who were " masters there. What should affect Pompey " still more was, that his native country just by " was stretching out her hands to him as a sup- " pliant; and it was incompatible with his ho- " nour to let her remain under such indignities, " and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves " and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be creditable to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune had put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio and many other persons of consular dignity in Greece and Thessaly a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should best consult her interests, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her; that without feeling it's calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar; with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him as it were besieged, and to wear him out by famine. This he thought his best plan; and a report was moreover brought him, of it's being whispered among the equestrian order, " That as soon as they had " taken off Cæsar, they could do nothing better " than take off him too." Some say, that this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance; but upon his march against Cæsar sent him to the sea-coast to take care of the baggage, lest after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his own commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him and urged

with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth; in order that he might for ever retain the command, and have those for his servants and guards, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the odium, always called him "Agamemnon," and "King of kings." Favonius stung him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who had lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said; "He was surprised, that his accusers should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called Cæsar) who trafficked for provinces."

These and many similar sallies of ridicule had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgement, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects: a thing, which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander-in-chief of so many nations and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician, who allows no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients; and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though it was necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can pronounce that army to have been in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others (namely Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio)

were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's high-priesthood [100]: as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army, who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless victories over the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demand of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, compelled Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first and took an oath; "That he "would not return from the battle, till he had put "the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

On the next night, Pompey had the following dream [101]: He thought, that "he entered his own "theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; "after which he adorned the temple of Venus "the Victorious with many spoils." This vision on one side encouraged, and on another alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandised at

[100] See this folly of Pompey's officers strongly represented by Cæsar, (B. C. iii. 82.) "The bear" was not doomed to fall by these hunters!

The Nabathæans, mentioned below, were an Arabian nation*.

[101] *At nox felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ*
Sollicitos vana decepit imagine somnos.
Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere plebis,
Attollique suum lætis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, & plausu cuneos certare sonantes.

(Lŭc. vii.)

his expense. Besides, a panic [102] fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awaked him. And about the morning-watch there suddenly appeared over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he was going his rounds [103].

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa [104]: his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burthen were already in motion; when his scouts brought intelligence that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this, Cæsar said; "The long-wished day "is come, on which we shall fight with men, and "not with want and famine." He then immediately ordered the red mantle to be displayed before his pavilion, which among the Romans is the signal of battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts and every expression of

[102] "Panic fears" were so called from the terror, with which the god Pan is said to have struck the enemies of Greece at the battle of Marathon.

[103] This passage, however, is not now to be found in his remaining works. *

[104] Προ σκοτης, in the printed text, is evidently a corruption: An anonymous MS. gives us προς Σκοτεσσαν, and is confirmed by Suppl. Liv. cxii. 62. Scotusa was a city of Thessaly, a little to the N. of Pharsalia. There was another likewise of the same name, situated upon the river Strymon in Thrace. Cæsar was persuaded, that Pompey would not come to action; and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch his opportunity in some of those movements to fall upon them.

joy. And when the officers began to arrange them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a chorus in a tragedy.

Pompey[105] placed himself in his right wing over-against Antony, and his father-in-law Scipio in the centre, opposite to Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of

[105] It is somewhat surprising that the account, which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle, should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (B. C. iii. 88.) Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæsar had returned to him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, with the legions which he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia, was in the centre. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain under the command of Afranius, were in the right. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order; the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalised itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able (if necessary) to support it. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right over-against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy: but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand; but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and then push them upward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For those fair "blooming dancers," said he, "will never stand "the steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to save "their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men for want of experience were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks, and in close order, to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure [106], as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and encourage each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic animation and valour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was rather more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended simply to his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and

[106] B. C. iii. 92.

Greeks, who only stood and looked on when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what a state the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. On both sides similar arms, fraternal files, common standards[107]! in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and phrensy of human nature, when carried away by it's passions? Had they been willing to wield a joint sceptre, and enjoy the fruits of their labours in tranquillity, the largest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were still to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretext of civilising barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted: into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms! Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared (one of them at least) to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance, which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful

[107]—*Pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.*
(Luc. 1. 7.)
The philosophical poet proceeds to remark, how much of foreign conquest might have been accomplished by this expenditure of Roman blood, in nearly the same manner with Plutarch.*

expedient; and her charms, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship, were to form a mere compact of interest and expediency.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on that of Cæsar who advanced to the charge was Caius Crastinus[108], who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to verify his promise to his general. He was the first man whom Cæsar saw, when he went out of the trenches in the morning: and upon that general's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory, and I "shall have your praise this day, alive or "dead." In pursuance of his promise, he advanced the foremost, and with many following to support him, charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force, that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained on both sides with equal advantage.

Pompey did not immediately bring on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do in that quarter. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse which he had placed in front back upon the foot. At that instant, Cæsar gave the signal: upon which

[108] So Cæsar, ib. 91. calls him. His name in Plutarch is 'Crassianus,' in Appian 'Crassinus.'

his cavalry retreated a little, and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face [108]. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but directed their force against the enemy's infantry, particularly against that wing which, now stripped of it's horse, lay open on all sides to the attack. The six cohorts therefore took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now instead of that saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then precipitately fled.

From the dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it would be difficult to say, what passed at that moment in his mind. He appeared like a man moon-struck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step toward his camp: a scene, which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer [109];

> But partial Jove espousing Hector's part,
> Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;

[108] *Milles, feri faciem.*

[109] Il. xi. 543. &c. where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax from Hector. The translation is by Pope.

Confused, unnerved in Hector's presence grown,
Amazed he stood, with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered not a word; till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy had entered the camp along with the fugitives, he said, "What! my camp too!" After this short exclamation he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew [110]. All the rest of the legions fled; and an immense slaughter was made, in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed [111].

Upon the taking of the camp, a spectacle appeared, which showed in strong colours the va-

[110] Cæsar tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. Before he had finished his lines, however, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire toward Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Universal History erroneously say) and after six miles' march came up with them. But they, not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, he yet by his obliging manner prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Upon this, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who as it was now night, escaped in the dark. (Cæs. B. C. iii. 97.)

[111] Cæsar himself however states, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners. (Ib. 99.) the festive appearance of Pompey's camp is described, ib. 96.

uity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle, the beds strewed with flowers, and the tables covered with cups and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for men engaged in feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence had they taken the field!

When Pompey had proceeded to a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him; and as he saw that he was not pursued, he went softly onward, absorbed in such reflections as we may suppose in one, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost all the glory and power, which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such large and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies then in pursuit of him could not know him again.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirst he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night, in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning about break of day, he embarked on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves

he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burthen just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticius a Roman citizen, who though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened, that this man the night before had dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure in which he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters; when on a sudden one of the mariners told him, he saw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. This made Peticius stand up, and he could distinguish Pompey among them, habited as he had seen him in his dream. Upon which striking his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard; for, by his dress, he perceived his change of fortune. Without waiting therefore for any farther application, he received him and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons, whom Pompey carried along with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and soon afterward they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with extreme earnestness from the shore, and took him likewise into the vessel. At supper-time, Peticius provided them the best entertainment in his power; and when it was almost ready, Pompey for want of a servant was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. During the whole time that he was on board in-

deed, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper; insomuch, that any one, who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which he performed these offices, would have exclaimed,

> ——The generous mind adds dignity
> To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey in the course of his voyage sailed by Amphipolis, and thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town, with news far different from what Cornelia was expecting. For from the flattering accounts, which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute had been decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to engage her husband's attention. The messenger, finding her engrossed by such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the magnitude of Pompey's misfortunes by tears rather than by words, he could only tell her, "She must make "haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with "one ship only, and that not his own."

At this intelligence Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was on the point of falling. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him; "I see, "my dear husband, your present unhappy con-"dition is the effect of my ill fortune, and not

"of your's. Alas! how are you reduced to one "poor vessel, who before your marriage with "Cornelia traversed this very sea with five hun- "dred galleys? Why did you come to see me, "and not rather leave to her evil destiny one, "who has loaded you too with such a weight "of calamities? How happy had it been for me "to have died, before I heard that Publius, my "first husband, was killed by the Parthians? "How wise, had I as I once intended followed "him to the grave? What have I lived for "since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey "the Great [112]?"

Such, we are told, was Cornelia's speech; to which Pompey replied, "Till this moment, Cor- "nelia, you have experienced nothing but the "smiles of fortune; and it was she who deceiv- "ed you, because she stayed with me longer, "than she commonly does with her favourites. "But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, "and make another trial of her. For it is not "more improbable, that we may emerge from "this poor condition and again rise to great "things, than it was, that we should fall from "great things into this poor condition."

[112]. Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing Pompey's misfortunes to his alliance with herself; and it seems, from one part of her speech upon this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar:

O utinam thalamos invisi Cæsaris issem!

(viii. 88.)

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter by means of this alliance must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest. (L.) The passage however above quoted may farther imply, that she would have gladly submitted even to Cæsar's hated embraces, if by so doing she could have turned upon him the evil destiny, which had overwhelmed her beloved Pompey.*

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable moveables, and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city. But he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without apprehension; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this he turned to Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little against Providence, and to express doubts upon the subject. Cratippus made some concessions, and changing the topic, encouraged him to hope better things, that he might not give him pain by an unreasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by showing that the state was in such disorder, as to have rendered a monarchy absolutely necessary. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How "do we know, Pompey, that if you had con- "quered, you would have made a better use of "your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of heaven to it's own superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail and continued his course without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and, beside collecting a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had drawn together after their flight, he lamented to his friends his fatal error in having suffered himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and made no use of those forces in which he had confessedly

the advantage; having not even taken care to fight near his fleet, that in the event of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army capable of resisting the enemy. We find no greater mistake indeed in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in having removed the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

As it was necessary however to undertake something with the small means which he had remaining, he sent to some cities, and sailed himself to others, to raise money and procure a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity [113] of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be before-hand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He therefore began to project retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. His friends could not suggest any province in the Roman empire, that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia, as most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterward to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, that it was proper to apply to Africa, in particular to Juba: but Theophanes of Lesbos observed, that it would be madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three day's sail; especially as Ptolemy [114], who was now growing up to manhood, had peculiar obligations to Pompey on his father's account. Should he go then, and put himself in the hands of the

[113] *Tolle moras semper nocuit differre paratis.**

[114] This was Ptolemy Dionysius the son of Ptolemy Auletes, who died A. U. C. 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

Parthians, the most perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong measure it would be, if rather than trust to the clemency of a noble Roman his father-in-law, and acquiesce in the second place of eminence, he would venture his person with Arsaces, [115] by whom even Crassus would not allow himself to be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely absurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where if she escaped unviolated, it would never be believed, after she had been in the hands of a people capable of treating her with every indignity. This last consideration alone, it is said, prevented him from marching to the Euphrates; but it is a matter of doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen; and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, [116] he proceeded thither; and sent a messenger before him, to notify his arrival and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus his

[115] From this passage it appears, that Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name, either of the king then upon the throne, or of him who had been at war with Crassus.

[116] The celebrated Cleopatra. Pelusium stood at the most eastern mouth of the Nile, *Hod.* Tineh, not far from Damietta. Some for 'Photinus,' below, read 'Pothinus.'

prime minister called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight, than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can without indignation consider, that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus an eunuch, by Theodotus a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric, and by Achillas an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the chief influence over him. and were the persons whom he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him, to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety! The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong: "If you receive him," said he, "you "will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey "for your master. If you order him away, "Pompey may one day revenge the affront, "and Cæsar resent your not having surrendered "him into his hands: The best method therefore "is to send for him, and put him to death. "Thus you will do Cæsar a favour, and have "nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, we are told, with a smile, "Dead men do not "bite."

This advice being approved, the execution of it was committed to Achillas. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends

and officers had assembled to see how the affair went forward. When they perceived that there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only in a fishing-boat came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was yet out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meanwhile the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey in Latin by the title of Imperator. Achillas then saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow toward the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretext for their injustice. He therefore embraced Cornelia, who lamented by anticipation his sad end; and ordered two centurions, one of his freemen named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

> Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell, freedom!
> Tho' free as air before———

These were the last words, which he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable interval between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a single person in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at

Septimius and said; "If I remember rightly, you "were once my fellow-soldier:" but he answered only by a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

As they approached the shore, Cornelia with her friends in the galley anxiously watched the event. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour. But the moment that Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise himself with more ease, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which, Salvius and Achillas also drew their swords. Pompey drew his robe with both hands over his face, and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was at that time just fifty nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day [117].

Cornelia and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and immediately weighed anchor. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale, as they got out more to sea, so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them.

[117] Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he had presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. He fell a sacrifice indeed to as vile a set of people, as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

The murtherers, having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile, and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat; which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body, and that not quite perfect.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and laying them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up, and said to Philip; "Who are you, that "are preparing the funeral of Pompey, the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But "you shall not," said the old Roman, "monopo-"lise this honour. As a work of piety offers "itself, let me have a share in it, that I may not "absolutely repent my having passed so many "years in a foreign country; but, to compen-"sate my numerous misfortunes, may have the "consolation of doing some of the last hon-"ours [1] to the greatest general, that Rome ever "produced." In this manner was conducted the funeral of Pompey.

Next day Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed because he was on his voyage from Cyprus, reached the Egyptian shore; and as he was coasting along saw the funeral-pile, and Philip (whom he did not yet know) standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has "finished his days, and is going to leave his re-

[1] Of touching and wrapping up the body.

"mains upon this beach?" adding after a short pause, with a sigh, "Alas! Pompey the Great! "perhaps thou mayest be the man." He soon afterward went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long afterward in Egypt, which he found in extreme disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was, a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he ordered to be executed; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last Marcus Brutus, subsequently to his assassination of Cæsar, found the wretch in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who interred them in his lands near Alba [119].

[119] This illustrious man has in all appearance, and in every view of his character, had less justice done him by the pen of history, than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes however unfortunately gave up) his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues which (though occasionally impeached) were, both naturally and morally great, his cause, which was certainly in it's original interests the cause of Rome—all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character, than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance indeed renders the accounts which the writers, after the established monarchy, have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice that appears against him; or rather to the reluctance they have shown to bestow upon him that praise, which they seem to have felt

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

COMPARED.

Such is the biography of these two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel of their characters, we shall first briefly notice the particulars, in which they differed.

First then, Pompey rose to power and established his reputation by honourable means; partly by the strength of his own genius, and partly by his signal services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of despotism. Whereas Agesilaus came to the throne, by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by imputing bastardy to Leotychidas, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and notwithstanding Lepidus' opposition, took care to see his remains honourably interred; and, afterward, gave his own daughter to his son Faustus. On the other hand, Agesilaus upon a slight pretence shook off Lysander, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services, which Pompey had received from Sylla, were not more considerable than those, which he had previously conferred upon him; whereas Agesilaus had been appointed king of Sparta by Ly-

he deserved: When the common wealth was no more, and the supporters of it's privileges had fallen with it, History herself, not to mention Poetry, departed from her honourable impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

sander's means, and subsequently captain-general of Greece.

Lastly, Pompey's offences against the laws and the constitution were principally owing to his alliances; to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio whose daughter he had married, in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passion of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians; but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who had been guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and obviously in recompence for this crime took him under his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distresses upon the Spartans through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment; for such was the spirit, that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, while we are mentioning their faults, we may advert to their fortunes, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a "lame government," and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of the warning [120]. Nay, supposing Leotychidas an absolute stranger, and a completely-convicted bastard, yet the family of Eurytion [121] could easily

[120] It is true, the latter part of Agesilaus' reign was unfortunate; but these misfortunes were owing to his malice against the Thebans, and to his having fought (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the same enemy so frequently, that he taught them to beat him at last.

Nevertheless the oracle, as we have observed in a former note, probably meant the lameness of the kingdom, in having but one king instead of two, and not the lameness of the king.

[121] One of the royal branches of the Heraclidæ, which supplied Sparta with her kings.*

have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious nor maimed, had not Lysander industriously rendered the oracle obscure for Agesilaus' sake.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus when, in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws should for that single day be silent. We have nothing of Pompey's, that can possibly be compared with it. On the contrary, he deemed himself exempted from observing the laws which he had himself introduced, and that his transgressing them displayed to his friends his superior power: Whereas Agesilaus, when under a necessity of contravening the laws in order to save a number of citizens, discovered an expedient which saved both the laws and the criminals. I must also class among his political virtues his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the Scytale, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his successes. For he did not, like Pompey, serve the commonwealth merely in affairs subservient to his own advancement; the good of his country was his great object, and with reference to that he renounced a degree of power and glory which no man either before or after him, except Alexander the Great, ever possessed.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances; the trophies of Pompey were so numerous, his armies so powerful, and the pitched battles which he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not have compared with them the victories of Agesilaus; though that historian, on account of his other excellences, has been indulged in the

peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased about his hero.

There was a difference likewise, I think, in point of equity and moderation, in their behaviour toward their enemies. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes, and destroying Messene; the former, the city from which his family sprung, the latter, Sparta's sister-colony [122]: and he had nearly ruined Sparta itself in the attempt. On the other hand Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, bestowed cities upon such as were willing to change their mode of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot [123], he rather chose to make him an ally: upon which occasion he uttered the memorable expression, "I prefer "to the glory of a day the glory, that will last "for ever."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue should be decided by such actions and counsels, as are most characteristical of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian, leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he did not abandon his city, when besieged by seventy thousand men; though he had only a small body of forces under him, and those too lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey [124],

[122] For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Messene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta.

[123] Plutarch, who omitted above to mention Pompey's determined resignation of his army (upon Sylla's order) in the midst of his African successes, as a parallel to Lysander's behaviour upon the receipt of the Scytale, makes the Roman hero in this place some reparation for the injury; by omitting to mention that, though he excused Tigranes himself from the degradation of attending his triumph, he led his son and others of the royal family of Armenia in that humiliating train.*

[124] Here is another egregious instance of Plutarch's prejudice against the character of Pompey. He certainly did not leave Rome, till he was well convinced of the impossibility of main-

upon Cæsar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or having failed in procuring intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight, he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens defenceless; when he ought either to have stayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror, his fellow-citizen and his relation, might impose. A little while before, he had thought it insupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he considered him, and "all it's other inhabitants, as his prisoners."

If it be the principal business of a general, to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how, when he is weaker, to avoid being brought to one himself, Agesilaus understood that business perfectly well, and by observing it continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage; on the contrary, he suffered Cæsar to gain the advantage of him, by being compelled to hazard all in an action at land. The consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself; when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As to the apology alleged in this case in Pompey's behalf, it reflects the deepest dishonour

taining it against the arms of Cæsar; who was advancing not only with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned, but by a previous distribution of his gold among the citizens, had rendered even a siege unnecessary.

upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgement, it would have been natural and pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to those who stayed and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the highest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called 'Agamemnon;' to risk the fate of the whole empire and of liberty itself upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it? Had he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to have considered the postponing of a battle in Thessaly as a disgrace. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists, in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome; neither was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities elsewhere; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus [194], or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had not slighter tumults to endure in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions; neither were the calumnies and slanders, which he

[194] The delays of Maximus were such, that *Fabiana cunctatio* became a proverb. For the other instances referred to, see the Life of Marius, and of Lucullus.

encountered in Egypt from the madness of the king, less grating, when he advised that prince for a while to remain still. Yet by pursuing the sage measures upon which he had first resolved, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but sustained Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her: nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for, by keeping the Spartans from the ruin, to which they were so vehemently hurrying, he enabled them subsequently to conquer. Hence it was, that Agesilaus was praised by the persons, whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who had misled him. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio; who, wishing to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action under pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor in consequence of being so deceived have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes, that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient motive, enlisted himself in the service of a barbarous prince, in order to raise a fund for carrying on the war against the Greeks. So that, if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to themselves. The one was betrayed by those, in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER.

SUMMARY.

Plutarch's object in writing the Lives of Alexander and Cæsar. Traditions about Alexander's birth. He is born on the day, upon which the temple of Ephesus is set on fire. His physical constitution: Moral qualities displayed in his infancy. Early education. He tames Bucephalus: is placed under the care of Aristotle: contracts a peculiar esteem for Homer's works. His first exploits. He quarrels with his father. Demaratus reconciles them. Philip opposes his marriage with the daughter of Pexodorus: is assassinated by Pausanias. Alexander's conduct on mounting the throne. He subdues the Triballi, and rases Thebes: pardons Timoclea, and admires her courage: repents his treatment of the Thebans. His interview with Diogenes. Presages preceding his expedition into Asia, and state of his army. His sacrifices at Ilium. He undertakes to pass the Granicus in the presence of Darius: Clitus saves his life: He gains the victory. It's consequences. He subdues Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Pamphylia: cuts the Gordian knot. Darius' dream. Alexander's sickness; and confidence in Philip his physician. Darius' conversation with Amyntas. Battle of Issus. Alexander's remark on Darius' splendid furniture: treatment of the mother, wife, and daughter of that monarch. Continence, temperance, and ordinary manner of living: troublesome vanity. Expenses of his table. He sends to Damascus

to seize the rich equipages of the Persians; besieges Tyre; and, during the siege, undertakes an expedition into Arabia. Takes Tyre; and Gaza; places the Iliad in a valuable casket: Builds Alexandria: goes to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The reply. His own idea upon the subject. He celebrates sacrifices and solemn processions: Refuses Darius' overtures. Tireus relates to Darius Alexander's treatment of his female connexions. Battle of two camp-followers under the names of these two princes. Last great battle fought not at Arbala, but Gaugamela. Alexander refuses to attack the enemy in the night. His sound sleep before the action. Answer to Parmenio about the baggage. He draws up his army; and gains a complete victory: rebuilds Platæa. Gulf of naphtha near Ecbatana. Digression on the nature and properties of naphtha. Alexander takes possession of Susa, and of Persia. Xerxes' palace burned, at the instigation of Thais. Alexander's munificence: His mother's advice on that head. He reproves his officers for their extravagant luxury. His affection, respect, and tenderness for his friends. He pursues Darius with great rapidity. That monarch's death. Alexander loses Bucephalus, and finds him again: defeats the Scythians. Story of the Amazons. He persuades his troops to complete the conquest of Asia; reconciles Hephæstion and Craterus: conceives a well-founded suspicion of Philotas, who with his father Parmenio is executed. Presages of Clitus' death: That general's insolent language to Alexander at a banquet. Alexander kills him: His deep remorse; soothed by Anaxarchus. Dispute between Anaxarchus and Callisthenes. The latter by his indiscretion incurs the king's hatred; who is farther alienated by the representation of his courtiers. His death, and that of Demaratus of Corinth. Alexander, prior to his engaging in his Indian expedition, sets fire to all his superfluous baggage. Different omens preceding his departure. He takes the fortress of Sisimethres. His reception of some embassadors of the country: interview with Taxiles: cruelty toward a band of Indian mercenaries. He passes the Hydaspes to attack Porus; gains the victory, and treats Porus with great liberality. His

soldiers refuse to advance eastward. Monuments, which he leaves behind him. He takes the city of the Malli: makes presents to the Gymnosophists: despatches Onesicritus to the Brachmans. Visits the ocean. Bacchanalian procession. Disturbances in his empire. He orders to execution the man, who had broken open Cyrus' tomb. Death of Calanus. Alexander marries Statira; sends away the Macedonian invalids with magnificent presents. Death and funeral of Hephæstion. Presages, dissuading Alexander from returning to Babylon. He becomes dejected and distrustful. His superstition: sickness, and death. Whether or not it be true, that he was poisoned. Roxana procures the murther of Statira.

IN the ensuing part of the work, we shall give the Lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar who overthrew Pompey: and, as the quantity of materials is so large, we shall only premise that we hope for indulgence, though we should not give the actions in full detail and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Neither is it always in the most distinguished exploits that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but frequently an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, distinguishes a person's real character, more than fields of carnage, the greatest battles, or the most important sieges[1]. As painters therefore, in their

[1] Plutarch has here given an accurate character of his own excellent style of biography.*

portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a less careful hand; so must we be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their toils and their achievements.

It is admitted as certain, that Alexander was a descendent of Hercules by Caranus[2], and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias in the Mysteries at Samothrace[3]: and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage from her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she had been left an orphan. The night before the consummation of the marriage, she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her womb, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared. And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up her womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion[4]. This dream, most of the interpreters sus-

[2] Caranus, the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, made himself B. C. 814. master of Macedon, and from him Alexander the Great was the twenty-second in descent, so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The descent by his mother's side is less clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient, however to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister (or niece, or cousin) to Arymbas. See Euseb. Chron. Suidas. voc. Caranus, Herod. viii. 137, and Justin viii. 1. (L.)

c. This Neoptolemus was descended from the prince of the same name (called also Pyrrhus) who was the son of Achilles, and of course the great grandson of Æacus.*

[3] These mysteries were nearly as old and as illustrious, as those of Eleusis. In them, women and children were initiated; Ter. Phorm. I. i. 15.*

[4] Cicero De Div. ii. 70. mentions this dream, but without naming the personages concerned in it.*

pected, intimated some doubt of the queen's honour, and thought that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct. But Aristander of Telmessus[5] said, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant, as a seal is never put upon any thing empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A serpent was also seen lying near Olympias' side, as she slept: which is said, more than any thing else, to have cooled Philip's affection for her; so that he seldom afterward repaired to her bed, whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces, because he thought them consecrated to some superior being.

Some authors, indeed, relate this affair in a different manner. The women of this country, they inform us, were of old extremely attached to the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called Clodones and Mimallones[6], because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus, from whom perhaps we may derive the Greek word "*threscuein*," signifying the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious

[5] This man (as we shall find) was afterward Alexander's constant attendant, in the capacity of soothsayer and priest.

With regard to the serpent mentioned below, Lucian in his Alexander seems to refer it to a peculiar kind of tame creatures of that description in the neighbourhood of Pella, and Cic. de Div. ii. 66. favours this idea: While others interpret the passage of a young Arcadian named Draco, with whom Olympias was said to have had a criminal commerce. See Justin ix. 5. *

[6] The etymologies of these names, which (if we may trust Hesychius, Suidas, and Athenæus v. 7.) the Bacchantes chiefly bore in Macedon, are extremely doubtful. See Ricard ix. 375. not. (11.)

On the "mystic fans," consult Serv. in Virg. Georg. i. 166. Meurs Eleus. xxvii.*

of these inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents; which often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the thyrsi and garlands of the women infused terror into the spectators.

Philip however, upon this appearance, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi; and Apollo, we are told, commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is added, that he lost one of his eyes[7], as he applied it to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in the form of a serpent in his wife's embraces. According to Eratosthenes Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander "never cease embroiling me with Juno?"

Alexander[8] was born on the sixth of Hecatombæon[9], which the Macedonians call Lōus,

[7] This however, as we learn from several writers, was shot out at the siege of Methone in Thrace. The arrow did not indeed exactly fulfil it's commission, for it was inscribed by the man who shot it,

Αστηρ Φιλιππω θανασιμον πεμπει βελος·

It's subsequent inscription was more prophetical;

Αστερα Φιλιππος, ην λαβῃ, κρεμησεται.

See Schol. in Dem. Olynth. ii. γ. Lucian, in his book De Conscrib. Hist. refers this to Olynthus.

For Olympias' rejection of her son's profane filiation of himself, see A. Gell. xiii. 4.*

[8] Ol. cvi. 1. B. C. 356.

[9] Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 25.) expressly affirms, that Alexander was born and died on the sixth day of the month Thargelion. But, supposing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month

the day on which the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned; upon which occasion Hegesias [10], the Magnesian, has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames! "It is no "wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana "was burned, when the goddess was at a distance, "employed in bringing Alexander into the world." All the Magi, who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign forerunning some much heavier misfortune: they ran about the town, striking their faces and crying, "That day had "brought forth the great scourge and destroyer "of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa [11],

Hecatombæon, yet not that month, but Böedromion then answered to the Macedonian month Löus; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, still preserved in Demosthenes. (Orat de Coronâ.) In aftertimes, indeed, the month Löus answered to Hecatombæon, which was doubtless the cause of Plutarch's mistake.

About the year likewise of Alexander's birth, there have been many different statements. The one best established, by the testimonies of Eusebius, Arrian, Corsini and M. de St. Croix (in his *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre)* is Ol. cvi. 1. B. C. 356. As to the table of correspondent Attic, Macedonian, and Roman months, in which Corsini, Dodwell, and Petavius differ, it is here, on account of it's having at different times varied, and from it's general intricacy and uncertainty omitted.*

[10] Hegesias flourished under Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. He is mentioned as a frigid writer by Dion. Halic. περὶ Συνθ. The cold conceit, here imputed to him, is by Cicero ascribed to Timæus (De Nat. Deor. ii. 27.) and he, with surely great want of taste, pronounces it *concinnè, ut multa, dictum à Timæo;* seeming rather to accord with Longinus' character of this writer, which has been given in a former note. Plutarch however, in his remark upon the occasion, is not quite free from the censure which he inflicts. Of the temple of Ephesus we find the dimensions in Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 14. viz. 425 feet long, 220 broad, and supported by 127 columns, each 60 feet high, and given by as many princes.*

[11] This is another mistake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. Ol. cv. 3. For this we have again the authority of Demosthenes, who was Philip's contemporary (Orat. cont. Leptin.) as well as of Diod. Sic. xvi.

and three messengers arrived on the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him, that Parmenio had gained a signal battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race-horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was delivered of Alexander. His joy upon that occasion, as might naturally be expected, was not inconsiderable; and the soothsayers encreased it, by assuring him that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled him were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble [12]. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness [13] of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors chiefly affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but he did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the co-

[12] Plin. H. N. vii. 37. informs us that Apelles alone was permitted to represent him on canvas, Pyrgoteles in marble, and Lysippus in bronze. See also Hor. Ep. II. i. 239. &c. *

[13] 'ΥΓΡΟΤΗΤΑ *των ὀμμάτων*. This word is perhaps untranslateable. M. Ricard owns, that he has very inadequately rendered it by *douceur*. The same term is used by Plutarch in describing the eyes of Pompey, and thus identifies them with those of Alexander. See p. 64. It was accounted a peculiar beauty among the Greeks, and is ascribed to Praxiteles' *chef-d'œuvre* (the Venus of Cnidus) by Lucian in his Εἰκόνες.

Ælian (Var. Hist. xii. 14.) says, Alexander's countenance had in it something very aweful; and Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, affirms that one of his eyes was black and the other blue!

With regard to Apelles' portrait, for which he received twenty talents, Plin. H. N. xxxv. tells us it was placed in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and that the fingers and the thunderbolt seemed standing out of the canvass. Those, who have seen sir Joshua Reynolds' Cardinal Beaufort (now in the possession of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Egremont) will have some idea of this fine exemplification of the graphic art. *

louring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant as to perfume his under-garments. The cause of this might, possibly, be his hot and fiery temperament. For, as Theophrastus conjectures, it is the concoction of moisture by heat, which produces sweet odours; and hence those countries, which are driest and most burnt up, produce spices of the best kind and in the greatest quantity; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture, which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution, which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence displayed itself at an early period. For, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body[14]; and, if he tasted them, it was with extreme moderation: but there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not every species of honour that he courted, neither did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip; who was as proud of his eloquence as a sophist, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic race" (for he was swift of foot)? replied "Yes, if I were

[14] His mother, we are told by Athenæus x. 10, with his father's consent, in order to try his temperament, sent into his room one day a beautiful courtesan of the name of Callixena; but he withstood her allurements.

"to have kings for my antagonists." It appears, indeed, that he bore a perfect dislike to the whole exercise of wrestling [15]. For though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and even for rhapsodists [16]; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff; yet he gave no encouragement to boxing, or to the Pancratium [17].

Embassadors from Persia happened to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, won their regard by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia; and desired to be informed, with regard to their king, how he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The embassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing, compared with the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. And as a proof of this, whenever intelligence was brought that Philip had taken some strong town or won some celebrated battle, the young man, instead of ap-

[15] Philopœmen also disliked wrestling, because all the exercises, which qualify a man to excel in it, render him unfit for war.

[16] These were people, who sewed together the detached parts or books of Homer's works, and recited them in public. See Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I. Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 14, ascribes the final combination of these immortal poems to Pisistratus; others to Aristarchus, Herodotus, &c. grammarians acting under his direction; and Plato to his son and successor Hipparchus.

[17] If it be asked, how this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling, the answer is, that the Pancratium (as it has been stated in a former note) was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

pearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions; "My father will go on conquering, boys, "till there will be nothing great and brilliant left "for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory were his prime objects, he thought that in proportion as the dominions which he was to receive from his father increased, there would be less room remaining for his own exertions. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as contracting his sphere of action: for he did not wish to inherit a kingdom, that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure; but one, that would afford him wars, and conflicts, and all the exercise of lofty ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas one of the queen's relations, and a man of great severity of manners, was at their head. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He, who had both the name and business of preceptor, was Lysimachus the Acarnanian; a person, who had neither merit nor politeness nor any thing to recommend him, except his calling himself Phœnix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus. This procured him some attention, and the second place about the prince's person.

When Philonicus the Thessalian offered the horse named Bucephalus in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents[18], the king with the prince

[18] That is, 2518*l.* 15*s.* sterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro (R. R. iii. 2.) viz. that Q. Axius, a senator, gave four hundred thousand sesterces for an ass; and still more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that some horses in Arabia were valued at a hundred thousand crowns. Pliny however informs us, that the price of Bucephalus was sixteen talents; *sedecim talentis ferunt*

and many others went into the field, to see some trial made of him. The animal appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was displeased at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, exclaimed; "What a horse they are losing, for want of skill "and spirit to manage him!" Philip, at first, took no notice of this; but upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and showing much uneasiness, he said; "Young man, you find fault "with your elders, as if you knew more than they, "or could manage the horse better yourself." "And I certainly could," replied the prince. "If "you should not be able to ride him, what forfeit-"ure will you agree to pay for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this, all the company laughed; but the king and prince having settled the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold on the bridle turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, extremely disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he continued speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, vaulted lightly upon his back, and seated himself with the utmost firmness. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either

ex Philonici Pharsalii grege emptum. (H. N. viii. 42.) L. But A. Gellius agrees with Plutarch.

Many etymologies of his name are assigned by different authors, derived from the shape of his head, an ox's head marked on one of his haunches, his wildness of look, &c. &c. Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, says he was fed upon human flesh!*

whip or spur, he set him a-going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he was only anxious to be put to his speed, he pushed him into a full gallop, and pressed him forward both with the voice and the spur.

Philip and all his court were at first in the utmost distress for him, and a profound silence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations except his father, who wept for joy, and kissing him, said: "Seek another king-"dom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abili-"ties; for Macedon is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he adopted the method of persuasion, rather than that of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too high importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius, to use Sophocles' expression, required

The rudder's guidance, and the curb's restraint.

He therefore sent for Aristotle[19], the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward which he gave him for forming his son was not only in itself honourable, but remarkable for it's propriety. He had formerly

[19] His letter upon the occasion is preserved by A. Gellius ix. 3. *Ad commonendos parentum animos, quonium curæ diligentiæque in liberorum disciplinas hortamentum est.* Alexander was at this time thirteen years of age. Aristotle, after a residence of eighteen years in Macedon, retired to Athens, and died the year after his illustrious pupil.*

dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born; and he now rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled, or been reduced to slavery[20]. He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations; where they show us Aristotle's stone-seats and shady walks to this day.

By him Alexander was instructed not only in moral and political knowledge, but also in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call 'acroamatic' and 'epoptic,' and which were not communicated to every common scholar[21]. For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books explanatory of those points, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the proceeding. The following is a copy of it:

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did "wrong in publishing the acroamatic parts of "science[22]. In what shall we differ from others, "if the sublimer knowledge, which we gained "from you, be disclosed to all the world? For "my part, I had rather excel the bulk of man-"kind in the superior parts of learning, than

[20] See also Diog. Laert. Life of Aristotle, v. 4. But Pliny the elder and Val. Max. v. 6, inform us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and that when Aristotle was very old. This city was situated upon the coast of the Ægean sea between Amphipolis and Acanthus, in the district of Macedon called Chalcidica.

[21] The scholars in general, were instructed only in the exoteric doctrines, on rhetorical and civil subjects. Aul. Gell. xx. 4.

[22] Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*. (L.) Epoptic, of the same purport, is a metaphorical term borrowed from the Eleusinian Mysteries; in which those, who were admitted to see their most hallowed rites, were denominated, 'Epoptæ.' Under this head A. Gellius (ib.) classes physics, metaphysics, and dialectics.*

"in the extent of dominion and power. Fare-"well[23]."

Aristotle in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, replied, "that "those points were published and not published." In fact, his book of metaphysics is so written that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it to others: It serves only to refresh the memories of those, who have been previously taught by a master.

It appears to me, likewise, that Alexander was assisted chiefly by Aristotle in the study of physic, of which he loved not only the theory, but the practice too; as appears from his epistles, where we find, that he prescribed to his friends medicines and a proper regimen.

He was a lover also of polite learning, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The Iliad he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called 'the casket-copy[24].' Onesicritus informs us, that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote for a supply to Harpalus; who sent him the works of Philistus, the greatest part of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and

[23] This letter is also preserved by A. Gellius, (ib.) with Aristotle's reply; but they are both, as unworthy of their respective writers, pronounced spurious by M. De St. Croix in his above-quoted work.

[24] He kept it in a rich casket, which had been found among Darius' spoils. See Plin. H. N. vii. 20. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after Alexander's death. "Darius," said Alexander, "used this casket for his ointments; but I, who have no time to "anoint myself, will use it for a much nobler purpose."

Æschylus, and the Dithyrambics of Telestus[*] and Philoxenus.

Aristotle was the man, whom he admired in his younger years; and, as he himself averred, he had no less affection for him, than for his own father; "From the one he derived the blessing of "life, from the other the blessing of a good life." But, afterward, he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion[26]. He never, indeed, did him any injury; but the testimonies of his regard, being neither so extraordinary nor so endearing as before, evinced some degree of alienation. His love of philosophy however, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul; as appears from the honours which he paid to Anaxarchus, the fifty talents which he sent to Xenocrates[27], and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus[28].

[*] Onesicritus was a native of Astypalæa, one of the Sporades I. He followed Alexander into Asia, and wrote an account of the expedition, which is not however entitled to much credit.

Telestus was a Selinuntian poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristratus the Sicyonian tyrant. Protogenes was sent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's displeasure; but he saved himself by the celerity and excellence of his execution. Philoxenus of Cythera was Telestus' scholar. Philistus was an historian, often cited by Plutarch. (L.)

Dithyrambics were a species of poetry consecrated to Bacchus. For it's character and origin, see M. Ricard ix. 389, not. 35.*

[26] This was by some ascribed to his having apparently preferred the interests of Olympias to those of her son, and by others to his having recommended to the would-be son of Jupiter the blunt and honest Callisthenes as a travelling companion. See Diog. Laert. Life of Aristotle, v. 10.*

[27] The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back; telling the giver, that he had more occasion for it himself, because he had more people to maintain. (Diog. Laert. Xenocr. iv. 8.) Plutarch elsewhere, in two of his moral works, says he declined the whole.

[28] Two of the Indian sages, to whom Onesicritus was sent, as we shall find in the sequel.*

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedon; and keeper of the royal signet. The Medari[29] rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man, that broke the Sacred Band of the Thebans. In our times an old oak used to be shown near the Cephisus[30], called 'Alexander's oak' (because his tent had been pitched under it), and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard his subjects call Alexander king, and himself only general. But the troubles introduced by his new marriage and his amours into his family, and the bickerings among the women which divided the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son: and these were heightened by Olympias, who being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame, on the following occasion: Philip, at an unseasonable time of life, fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, and married her.

[29] We know of no such nation; there was a people, however, called 'Mædi' in Thrace, who, as Livy informs us (xxvi. 25.) used to make inroads into Macedon.

[30] This river rises in Phocis, was by the walls of Chæronea, and falls into the Lake Copaïs in Bæotia. (Strab. vii.)

At the celebration of the nuptials her uncle[31] Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods, that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, exclaimed; "What then, scoundrel, dost thou "take me for a bastard?" and at the same time threw his cup at his head. Upon this, Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine which he had drank made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, cried out; "Men of Macedon, see there the hero, "who was preparing to pass from Europe into "Asia! while he is not able to pass, even from "one table to another, without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country, which he chose for his own retreat.

In the mean time Demaratus, who had connections of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who could therefore freely speak his mind, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first compliments and civilities, Philip asked him, "What sort of agreement subsisted among the "Greeks?" Demaratus replied, "There is, doubt-"less much propriety in your inquiring after "the harmony of Greece, who have filled your "own house with so much discord and dis-"order." This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed upon Alexander to return.

[31] Her brother, say Justin ix. 5, and Diod. Sic. xvii. 2. Pausanias however viii. 7, and Athenæus xiii. 1, agree with Plutarch. The latter gives the names of Philip's seven wives; Audata, Phila, Nicesipolis, Philinna, Olympias, Meda, and Cleopatra, to whom Arrian adds Eurydice; but she was the same with either Cleopatra, or Audata. *

[Another event, however, quickly disturbed their new repose.]

Pexodorus the Persian governor in Caria, being desirous to draw Philip into a league offensive and defensive by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Aridæus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus into Macedon to treat about it. Upon which Alexander's friends, and his mother, now again infused notions into him (though perfectly groundless) that by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness occasioned by these suspicions, sent one Thessalus a player into Caria, to desire the grandee would decline Aridæus, who was of spurious birth and deficient in point of understanding, and take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more delighted with this proposal. But Philip no sooner received intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas the son of Parmenio, one of his most intimate friends and companions; and in his presence reproached him with his degeneracy and meanness of spirit, in thinking of becoming son-in-law to a fellow of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the same time he wrote to the Corinthians [32], insisting that they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Nearchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of

[32] Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth, for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria. (L.)

Or is it not possible, from the resemblance of the first syllables in these two words that 'Corinthians' may have been written instead of 'Carians,' by the mistake or "oscitancy of the transcribers." The slight variations in the names Pexodorus and Phrygius, which some authors read Pixodarus and Erygius, are hardly worth mentioning.*

the prince, he banished. But Alexander subsequently recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negociation, Pausanias having been abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having had justice done him for the outrage[33], assassinated Philip. Olympias was believed to have been principally concerned, in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander himself did not escape uncensured. It is said that when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander by way of answer repeated a line from the tragedy of Medea[34];

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished; and he also expressed his indignation at Olympias' cruel treatment of Cleopatra during his absence[35].

[33] For the detail of this shocking deed, see Justin ix. 6, 7. Diod. Sic. xvi. 93, 94, and Val. Max. i. 8, who adds that Philip was cautioned by an oracle, which he unfortunately (as is always the case) mistook. *

[34] Eu. Med. 288. To give the context; Creon says,

Κλυω δ' απειλειν, ὡς απαγγελλωσι μοι,
Τον δοντα, και γαμοντα, και γαμηθεντ'ην
Δρασειν τι———

The persons meant in the tragedy were Jason, Crëusa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

[35] She had driven her to hang herself, after having seen her little boy murthered in her arms. Pausanias viii. 7. says, she had them both thrown into a cauldron of boiling water. *

He was only twenty years old, when he succeeded to the crown[36], and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedon, could not brook subjection, and were longing for their natural kings. Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms; but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into disorder and confusion rather than produced any firm or tranquil settlement, and he left the whole in a state of agitation and disturbance. The young king's Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at least to make no attempts upon it with the sword; and to recal the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to security, and a thorough establishment of his affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity. For he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate one jot of his dignity, he should be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and checked the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus king of the Triballi[37], and defeated him.

Some time after this, having received intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments,

[36] B. C. 336.

[37] For the details of this, and his other victories over the barbarians, as well as his destruction of Thebes, &c. see Arrian; some of whose accounts, however, M. de St. Croix considers as fabulous embellishments of his hero's story.*

he resolved to convince them he was no longer a boy, and immediately advanced through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy, while I was in Illyricum and "among the Triballi, and a stripling when in "Thessaly; but I will show him, before the walls "of Athens, that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest. But the Thebans in their turn demanded, that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and by sound of trumpet invited to their standard all who chose to assist in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces much superior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength. But when the Macedonian garrison marched down from the Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the rest of Greece, astonished and intimidated by so dreadful a punishment of the Thebans, would submit in silence. Yet he found a more plausible pretence for his severity; giving out, that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, and had been adopted in pursuance of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platææ. Exempting therefore the priests, all persons with whom the Macedonians were connected by the ties of hospitality, the

posterity of Pindar [38], and such as had opposed the revolt, he sold the rest (to the number of thirty thousand) for slaves. About six thousand fell in the battle.

The calamities, which that wretched city suffered, were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea [39], a woman of quality and honour. The soldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether she had not some gold and silver concealed. She replied, she had; and taking him alone into the garden showed him a well, into which (she told him) she had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The officer stooped down to examine the well; upon which she pushed him in, and then despatched him with stones. The Thracians coming up seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander; who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the firm and fearless manner in which she followed that

[38] To this our Milton alludes, where deprecating the destruction of his own house (and, "as a poet, he had as good right to ex-"pect this favour as Pindar") he says,

> The great Emathian conqueror did spare
> The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground———
>
> (Sonn. viii.)

Diod. Sic. xvii. 10—13. reports many prodigies, which announced this disastrous event. Arrian and Ælian agree with Plutarch in the exemptions here stated; and Dio Chrysostom informs us, that Pindar's posterity was included in them, in consequence of their great ancestor's having celebrated one of his progenitors named Alexander in his immortal poetry.

Thebes was destroyed Ol. cxi. 2. B. C. 335; and was rebuilt, according to Diod. Sic. xix. 53, 54. B. C. 316. by Cassander, to show his hatred of Alexander's memory (Pausan. ix. 7.)*

[39] See this story more detailed in Polyæn. viii. 40.*

savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. He demanded "who "she was?" She answered, "I am the sister of "Theagenes, who in the capacity of general "fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and "fell at Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her answer and the bold action which she had performed, gave orders that both she and her children should be set at liberty.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, notwithstanding the deep sympathy which they expressed in the misfortunes of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the Great Mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received into their city such of the Thebans, as escaped the general wreck, with every mark of regard. But whether his fury like that of a lion was satiated with blood, or he was anxious to efface a most cruel and barbarous exploit by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints which he had against them, but he likewise desired them to look well to their affairs, because if any thing should happen to himself, Athens would give law to Greece.

The calamities, it is said, which he brought upon the Thebans, frequently gave him uneasiness in a subsequent part of his life, and upon that account he treated many others with less rigour. He certainly imputed the murther of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, by which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus the avenger of Thebes[40]. And there was not a Theban,

[40] Of which city he was a native.

who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he chose to request. Thus much, concerning the Theban war.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Upon this occasion, many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope[41], who then lived at Corinth, would have been one of the number. Finding however that he made but little account of him, and preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he himself went to pay him a visit. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun; and, on the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him; "If there was any thing, in which he could serve "him?" "Only stand a little out of my sun-"shine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that while his courtiers were ridiculing and abusing him as a monster, he said; "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be "Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauspicious, upon which it was illegal to propose any query. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office;

[41] Arrian, in his Commentary on Epict. iii. 28. has drawn a strong picture of this stern philosopher.

but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he himself went, and dragged her by force into the temple: upon which, as if conquered by his violence, she exclaimed, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander, hearing this, said; "He wanted no other answer, for "he had obtained the very oracle which he desire.

When he was on the point of setting out upon his expedition, he had many signs from the divine powers. Among the rest, the statue of Orpheus in Libethra[42], which was made of cypress-wood, was in a profuse sweat for several days. This the generality apprehended to be an ill presage; but Aristander bade them dismiss their fears: "It "signified," he said, "that Alexander would "perform actions so worthy to be celebrated, "that they would cost the poets and musicians "much labour and sweat."

As to the number of his troops, the lowest computation makes them amount to thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and the highest to thirty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents; Duris says, he had no more than sufficed to maintain them a single month; but Onesicritus affirms, that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

Though his provision however was so small, he chose at his embarkation to inquire into the circumstances of his friends; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village, to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a post. When he had thus disposed of almost all the estates of the

[42] This Libethra was in the country of the Odrysæ, in Thrace. But beside this, there was the Cave of the Nymphs of Libethra on mount Helicon, probably so denominated by Orpheus, a native of that place.

crown, Perdiccas asked him, "What he had "reserved for himself?" He replied, "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we, who share in your "labours, will also take part in your hopes." In consequence of which, he refused the estate allotted to him, and some others of the king's friends did the same. As for those who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he served them with equal pleasure; and by these distributions the greatest part of his Macedonian revenues was exhausted. Such was the spirit and disposition, with which he crossed the Hellespont [45].

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles' tomb with oil, and ran round it naked with his friends, according to the custom established; after which he placed a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy "in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and

[45] This, according to St. Clement (Strom. i.) was in Ol. xi. 3., B. C. 934. See also Corsini Tast. Att., Diod. Sic., xvii. 17. places it somewhat later. This author and Arrian add that, in his subsequent visit to the temple of Minerva, he exchanged his own arms for some, which he found there hung up, and which he afterward wore in all his battles; and the latter writer states that among the heroes he particularly distinguished Priam, with a view of conciliating his benevolence toward a descendent of his murtherer Neoptolemus. Ælian (Var. Hist. xii. 7.) informs us that, while Alexander was anointing Achilles' pillar, Hephæstion was paying the same honour to that of Patroclus, to intimate that he stood in the same degree of favour as that hero with his master.

This and other modes of testifying reverence for the dead are recorded by Herodian, iv. 14., speaking of Commodus' visit to Achilles' tomb; by Suetonius, in his Life of Augustus (xviii.) who says that emperor had Alexander's tomb at Alexandria opened, and placed upon it a crown of gold with flowers; and by Quint. Curt. x. i., who mentions similar honours as paid by Alexander to Cyrus' remains.

"after his death an excellent herald to proclaim his "praise." As he went about the city to view the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris' lyre? "I set little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it would give me "great pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which "he sung the immortal deeds of heroes[44]."

In the mean time, Darius' generals had assembled an immense army, and had taken post upon the banks of the Granicus[45]; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought that a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time, for the kings of Macedon never marched out to war in the month Dæsius. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called 'the second Artemisius.' And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he replied; "The Hellespont "would blush, if after having passed it, he "should be afraid of the Granicus." At the

[44] This alludes to that passage, in the ninth book of the Iliad;

"Amused at ease the godlike man they found,
"Pleased with the solemn harp's harmonious sound;
"With these he sooths his angry soul, and sings
"Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings."

POPE.

Ælian Var. Hist. ix. 30. mentions this reply, as does likewise Stobæus (Serm. vii.) who states that, when the priest offered to show him the lyre of Paris, he answered; "Show me the lyre of Achilles, "or rather his lance."

The months of Dæsius and Artemisius, mentioned below, corresponded nearly to May and April respectively.*

[45] This river traverses Phrygia and Mysia the Less, and falls into the Propontis.

same time, he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks which were lined with cavalry well-armed, and the rapidity of the river which often bore him down or covered him with it's waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on however, till by astonishing efforts he gained the opposite banks, which the mud rendered extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy hand to hand, and with much confusion on his part, because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Persian troops charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard upon Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished both by his buckler and his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint; but he escaped unhurt. After this Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two officers of high distinction, attacked him[46] jointly. The latter he avoided with great address, and received the former with such a stroke of his spear upon his breast-plate, that it broke in pieces. He then drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. In the mean time Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself on his horse gave him a blow with his battle-axe, which cut off his crest with one side of the plume. Nay,

[46] In this, Arrian agrees with Plutarch; but Diod. Sic. xvii. 20. and Quint. Curt. viii. 1., though not in any essential degree, differ.

the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was about to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus[47] prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time, Alexander with his sword brought Rhœsaces to the ground.

While the cavalry were thus furiously and critically engaged, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no considerable or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled; all but the Grecian mercenaries, who forming upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared. But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute, more of his men were killed and wounded, than in all the rest of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse[48]; whereas Alexander had only

[47] In the original it is Κλειτος ὁ μεγας, 'Clitus the Great.' But in Diod. Sic. ib. 57. we find Κλειτος ὁ μελας, 'Clitus the Black;' and Athenæus xiii. 9. and Justin xii. 12. mention Κλειτος ὁ λευκος, 'Clitus the Fair,' who survived Alexander, and according to Diod. Sic. xviii. 39. and Arrian ix. became Satrap of Lydia. Plutarch therefore probably wrote ὁ μελας.

[48] Some MSS. mention only ten thousand foot killed, which is the number in Diod. Sic. ib. 21. Arrian makes the number of horse killed only one thousand. (L.) The whole army of the barbarians, according to Justin's incredible account xi. 6., consisted of 600,000 men. Arrian, who computes them at only 40,000, is perhaps almost as far from the truth on the other side. Diod.

thirty-four men killed[49], nine of which were infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected to each of them a statue in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he distributed among them presents out of the spoil; to the Athenians, in particular, he sent three hundred bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription; 'Won by Alexander the son of Philip, and the Greeks (excepting the Lacedæmonians) from the barbarians in Asia.' The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians, he transmitted to his mother.

This battle made an immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, opened it's gates to him; and all the other cities, except Halicarnassus and Miletus, followed it's example. These he took by storm, and subdued the whole of the adjacent country. After this, he remained some time in suspense, as to the measures which he should next take. One while, he was determined instantly to risk all upon the fate of a single battle with Darius: another while, he resolved first to reduce the maritime provinces; that, when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

Sic. gives the most probable number, 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. *

[49] Arrian says, there were about twenty-five of the king's friends killed; and, of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five friends, who had statues by Lysippus. These were erected at Dia, a city of Macedon, whence Q. Metellus long afterward transferred them to Rome. This loss however, we must assuredly conclude with M. de St. Croix, is very much underrated.

There is a spring in Lycia near the city of the Xanthians[50], which (they tell us) at that time spontaneously changed it's course; and overflowing it's banks threw up a plate of brass, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, signifying, "That the Persian empire would one day come to "a period, and be destroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he hastened to reduce all the coast, as far as Phœnice[51] and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it was by the interposition of heaven that the sea retired[52] before Alexander, which at other times runs there with so strong a current, that the breaker-rocks at the foot of the mountain were very seldom left bare. Menander, in his pleasant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies:

> How like great Alexander! Do I seek
> A friend? Spontaneous he presents himself.
> Have I to march, where seas indignant roll!
> The sea retires, and there I pass.

But Alexander himself, in his Epistles, makes no miracle of the matter; he only says, "He march-"ed from Phaselis, by the way called Climax."

[50] One of the great cities of Lycia, situated on the Xanthus, at the distance of two leagues from the sea.

[51] This Phœnice, as Palmerius has observed, was a district of Lycia or Pamphylia.

[52] And yet Strabo (xiv.) assures us, that 'Alexander and his army, though they might have passed perfectly dry and safe at the ebb of the tide, were so impatient as to have marched up to the middle in water.'

To this passage Josephus refers, in order to accredit among the Greeks and Romans that of the Israelites through the Red Sea. But Leslie, in his 'Short and Easy Method with the Deists,' has placed the latter event in a much more proper point of view, as well as made excellent use of the irresistible inferences which it affords.'

He had spent some time at Phaselis; and having found in the market-place a statue of Theodectes[54], who had been of that place but was then dead, he went out one evening in masquerade, after he had drank freely at supper, and covered the statue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man, with whom he had formerly been connected through the medium of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this, he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium[55], which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot fastened with cords made of the bark of the cornel-tree; and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the fates "had decreed the empire of the world to him "who should untie the knot." Most historians state, it was twisted so many private ways and the ends so artfully concealed[56], that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms, that he easily undid it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

[54] This Theodectes, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote fifty tragedies, a treatise on rhetoric, and several orations.

Phaselis, according to Steph. Byzant., was first called Pityusa, and next Phaselus: In it's territory stood the celebrated mount Chimæra, which cast out flames night and day. (Plin. H. N. ii. 106.)

[55] So called from Gordius, father of Midas, the first king of Phrygia. See Justin. xi. 7.

Instead of 'the bark of the cornel-tree,' mentioned below (in which Arrian agrees with Plutarch) the Scholiast on Eurip. Hippol. says, the Gordian knot was tied with a vine-branch.

[56] This seems to have been an art in vogue among the ancients, as Ulysses is said by Homer (Od. viii. 447.) to have secured his Phæacian presents by an intricate knot, which Circe had taught him.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there he received intelligence of the death of Memnon[56], who was Darius' most respectable officer in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader the most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the Upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had set forward from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of not less than six hundred thousand combatants; and greatly animated besides by a dream, which the Magi had interpreted, rather with a view to please their prince, than with a regard to probability. He dreamed, "That he saw "the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that "Alexander, in the dress which he himself had "formerly worn when one of the king's couriers[57],

[56] Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek Islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus an Athenian, who had served with high reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right: "While you, Sir," said he to Darius, "are "safe, the empire can never be in imminent danger. Let me "therefore exhort you never to expose your person, but to make "choice of some able general to march against your enemy. "One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, pro-"vided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to aban-"don this enterprise; and, if you will honour me with the "command, I will be accountable for the success of my pro-"posal." Darius was willing to accede to it; but the Persian grandees through envy accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed. (Diod. Sic. xvii., Q. Curt. iii.)

[57] In the text Ασγανδης. But it appears, from Hesychius and Suidas, that it should be read Αστανδης. It is the Persian word *istanda*, stator (from *stade*, stare) with a Greek termination; and we learn from Cicero, that *stator* signifies 'a courier.'

" acted as his servant; after which, Alexander " went into the temple of Belus, and there sud- " denly disappeared." By this, heaven seems to have signified, that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who from a simple courier became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was still farther encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he regarded as the effect of his fears. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his having bathed in the river Cydnus, the water of which is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure, as of the danger which they should incur by the application; for they were afraid that the Macedonians, if they were unsuccessful, would suspect them of some treachery. Philip the Acarnanian saw, as well as the rest, the desperate state of the king's health; but, beside the confidence which he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore undertook the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to drink it when ready; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the mean time, Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him " To beware of " Philip, whom (he said) Darius had persuaded " by presents of infinite value, and the promise " of his daughter in marriage, to take him off

" by poison[48]." As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip with the king's friends entered the chamber, having the cup with the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without betraying the least symptom of suspicion, and at the same time gave him the letter. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy: the one reading, while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence which he had in his honour; Philip's look exhibited his indignation at the calumny. One while, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity; another while, he threw himself down by the bed-side, entreating his sovereign to be of good courage, and to rely upon his care.

The medicine indeed was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarcely any sign of sense or life. But he was soon relieved by this faithful physician[49], and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who was perfectly acquainted with Alexander's position. This man, perceiving that Darius was preparing to march through the straits in quest of his adversary, besought him to remain where he was, and take the

[48] See Quint. Curt. iii. 6. Seneca, De Irâ, xxiii., erroneously ascribes this letter to Olympias. *

[49] In three days' time.

advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that "case the enemy would fly without having come to "an action, and Alexander would escape him." "If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no farther uneasiness; for be assured, he will come to seek you, and is already "on his march." His representations, however, had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia, and Alexander was on the way to Syria in quest of him. But, happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back: Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits, while Darius was endeavouring to disengage himself and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in having thrown himself into ground, hemmed in by the sea on one side and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while at the same time the situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander, as to the scene of action; but the skilful arrangement of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison with that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent it's being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing beyond the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded however in the thigh, and (according to Chares[60]) by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the

[60] A historian of Mitylene, who appears to have lived about this time.

account which he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only says, that he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences ensued.

The victory was a very signal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy[61]. Nothing was wanting to complete it, but the taking of Darius; and that prince narrowly escaped, having gotten the start of his pursuer, by only four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. These he found loading themselves with the rich plunder of the enemy's camp, which was immense; though Darius, in order to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him; "Let us "go and refresh ourselves, after the fatigues of "the field, in the bath of Darius." "Nay, rather," said one of his friends, "in the bath of "Alexander; for the goods of the conquered are, "and should be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basons, vials, boxes, and other vases curiously wrought in gold, smelled the fragrant odours of essences and perfumes, and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments, he turned to his friends, and said; "This "then, it seems, it was to be a king[62]."

[61] Diodorus says, a hundred and thirty thousand.

[62] As if he had said, "Could a king place his happiness in "such enjoyments as these?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by Persian luxury.

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters: and that, upon seeing his chariot and bow, they had broken out into loud lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes, than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them, "That Darius was not dead: that they had no-"thing to fear from Alexander, for his dispute "with Darius was only for empire; and that they "should find themselves attended in the same "manner, as when Darius was in his highest pros-"perity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to perform the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them, out of the spoils, with robes and all other customary decorations. They had as many domestics, and were universally treated with as much respect, as formerly; their appointments, indeed, were even greater than ever. But there was another part of his behaviour to them, which was still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of illustrious rank, but of the utmost modesty and virtue; and he therefore took care, that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect or fear any design upon their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple or an asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

The wife of Darius, it is said, was one of the most beautiful of princesses, as Darius himself was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the

world, and their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander undoubtedly thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself, than to subdue his enemies, and he therefore never approached one of them. His continence indeed was such, that he never knew any woman before his marriage except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus was grandson to a king of Persia[63]. It was Parmenio, according to Aristobulus, that led Alexander into this connexion with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no farther notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eye-sores these Persian wo-"men are[64]!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of self-government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, he passed them by as so many statues.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coast, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus a Tarentine with him, who had two beautiful boys to sell, and desired to know whether or not he chose to buy them. Alexander was so much incensed at this application, that he asked his friends several times; "What base incli-"nations Philoxenus had ever discovered in him,

[63] Son to a king of Persia's daughter. By her Alexander had a son called Hercules, who attained the age of seventeen, and was, with his brother (according to Diod. Sic., and Pausanias) put to death by Cassander.*

[64] This expression was likewise used to Amyntas by some Persians, as we learn from Herodotus, and is severely criticised by Longinus.*

"that he durst make him so infamous a propo-
"sal?" In his answer to the letter, which was extremely severe upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to dismiss Theodorus and his vile merchandise together. He likewise reprimanded young Agnon, for having offered to purchase for him Crobylus, whose beauty was celebrated in Corinth. Being informed that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of some of his mercenaries who served under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair; and if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as savages bent on the destruction of human kind. In the same letter, speaking of his own conduct, he expresses himself in these terms: "For my part, I "have neither seen nor desire to see the wife "of Darius; so far from that, I have not "suffered any man to speak of her beauty in my "hearing." He used to say, "That sleep, and "the commerce with the sex, were the things that "made him most sensible of his mortality." For he considered both weariness and pleasure, as the natural effects of our infirmity.

He was also very temperate in eating. Of this, there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he said to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria[45]. Ada, to express her affectionate regard, sent him every day

[45] This princess after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus and his sister and consort Artemisia, who left no children, succeeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom she had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus her third brother dethroned her, and after his death his son-in-law Orontobates seized the crown, and held it for five years. But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions. (See Diod. Sic. xvi. 74. xvii. 24, &c.)

a number of excellent dishes and a handsome desert; and, at last, some of her best cooks and bakers. But he said, "He had no need of them, "for he had been supplied with better cooks by "his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to pre- "pare his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare "his supper[66]."

He added, that "the same Leonidas used to exa- "mine the chests and wardrobes, in which his "bedding and clothes were put, lest something "of luxury and superfluity should have been in- "troduced there by his mother."

Neither was he so much addicted to wine, as he was supposed to be. The supposition prevailed, because he passed much time at table; but that time was spent in talking, rather than drinking, every cup introducing some long discourse. Besides, he never made these long meals, but when he had abundance of leisure upon his hands. When business called, he was not like other generals, to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining spectacle. His life sufficiently confutes this assertion; for, though very short, he achieved in it innumerable exploits.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he rose, he sacrificed to the gods; after which, he took his dinner sitting[67]. The rest of the day he spent in hunting, or deciding differences among his troops, or reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot

[66] ——— *Tu pulmentaria quære*
Sudando. (Hor. Sat. II. ii. 20.)

[67] Not resting on a couch, as at the more disengaged hour of supper.

at full speed. Sometimes also he diverted himself with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals[a].

Upon his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreshed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the stewards of his kitchen and his cooks, if they had prepared every thing in a handsome manner for supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he ate in a recumbent posture. He was very kind and attentive to his guests at table, in seeing that they were all equally served, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation, than by drinking. His conversation, in many respects, was more agreeable than that of most princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of society. His only fault was his retaining so much of the soldier[b], as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own actions, but he suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. These wretches were an intolerable burthen to the rest of the company, who did not choose to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their estimate of the king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought to him from distant countries and seas, he would send a portion of them to each of his friends, and

[a] Or Ephemerides, drawn up by Eumenes and Diodotus. See Athen. x. 9. and Arrian vii.

[b] The ancients, in their comic pieces, used always to put the Rodomontades, so called from Ariosto's braggart Rodomonte, in the mouth of a soldier.

very often reserved none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expense increased with his fortune, till it came to ten thousand drachmas for one entertainment[70]. At that point, it stood; and he never suffered those, who invited him, to exceed it.

After the battle of Issus he sent to Damascus, and seized the money and equipages of the Persians, together with their wives and children. Upon that occasion, the Thessalian cavalry enriched themselves the most. They had indeed greatly distinguished themselves in the action, and they were favoured with this commission, that they might have proportionally the best share of the spoil. Not but that the rest of the army, likewise, found sufficient booty; and the Macedonians, having once tasted the treasures and voluptuousness and luxuries of the barbarians, hunted for the wealth of Persia with all the ardour of hounds in full scent of their game[71].

It appeared to Alexander a matter of considerable importance, before he advanced any farther, to gain the maritime powers. The kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia submitted, on his first application; Tyre alone held out. The siege of that city cost him seven months, during which time he erected vast mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with two hundred galleys. Within that period he had a dream, in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the

[70] About 322l. 18s. 4d. For this sum he usually entertained sixty or seventy of his friends. See Athen. iv. 10.

[71] *Ut canis à cervo nunquam absterrebitur unctо*, (Hor. Sat. II. v. 83.)

Χαλεπὸν χοφιῳ κυνα γευσαι. (Theocr. Id. x. 11.)

Tyrians dreamed[a], "That Apollo declared he "would go over to Alexander, because he was "displeased with their behaviour in the town." Upon this the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains, and nailed it's feet to the pedestal; not scrupling to call him "an Alexandriser." In another dream, Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance; and, when he advanced to seize him, the savage eluded his grasp. At last, however, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he persuaded him to surrender himself. The interpreters plausibly enough divided the Greek term for 'satyr' into two, *Sa Tyros*, which signifies 'Tyre 'is thine.' And they show us a fountain, near which Alexander is said to have seen that vision, to this day.

About the middle of the siege, he made an excursion against the Arabians who dwelt about Anti-libanus. He there incurred an imminent risk of his life on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted upon attending him, being (as he alleged) neither older nor less valiant than Phœnix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horses, in order to climb up on foot, the rest of the party got considerably before Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and as the enemy was not far off, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. While he was encouraging

[a] One of the Tyrians dreamed, that he saw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magistrates, upon mature deliberation, resolved to fix one end of a gold-chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. (Diod. Sic. xvii. Q.

him therefore and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in a most dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires, which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his fleetness and activity, as well as his having been accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty by taking a share in all their labours and hazards, he ran to the nearest blaze, killed two of the barbarians that sat watching it, and seizing a brand hastened back with it to his own party, who soon kindled a great fire. The sight of this so intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and those who ventured to attack him were repulsed with heavy loss. By these means, according to the account we have from Chares, he passed the night in safety.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in the following manner: Alexander had permitted his main body, after the long and severe fatigues which they had undergone, to repose themselves, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time, Aristander his principal soothsayer offered sacrifices; and one day, upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken in that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with scorn and ridicule. The king perceiving that he was disconcerted, and making a point of verifying his minister's

Curt. iv. 3.) (L.) This statue had been transferred by the Carthaginians from Gela, on their capture of that city (Diod. Sic. xiii. 8.) Tyre, in Alexander's time, according to both these writers, stood in an island; but was by his works united to the continent. Most of these dreams, as M. Ricard observes, are obviously *des contes faits après coup.**

prophecies, gave orders that the day should not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the same time, he called out his forces by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he had at first designed. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp rushed forward to have a share in it, and to support their fellow-soldiers; so that the Tyrians were obliged to yield, and the city was taken that very day [72].

Thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, [73] the capital of that country. While he was thus employed, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then perching on the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. Aristander's interpretation of this sign was justified by the event: the king was wounded in the shoulder, but he took the city. The greatest part of it's spoils he despatched to Olympias, and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. Among these, his tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the present, which he made him, had something particular in it. It consisted of five hundred talents weight of frankincense [74], and a hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon recollection of the hopes which he had conceived when a boy. Leonidas, it seems, had one day

Ol. cxii. 1. according to Diod. Sic. xvii. 40.

[73] A city of Palestine, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

[74] On the subject of the ensuing passage, and it's fulfilment, see Q. Curt. iv. 6. and Arrian. ii.

	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
The common Attic talent in Troy wt. was	56	11	00	17½
This talent consisted of 60 minæ; but there was another Attic talent, by some said to consist of 80, by others of 100 minæ.				
The mina was —	00	11	7	16½
The talent of Alexandria was	104	0	19	14

observed Alexander at a sacrifice throwing incense into the fire by handfuls; upon which, he said "Alexander, when you have conquered the "country where spices grow, you may be thus li- "beral of your incense; but, in the mean time, use "what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus to him, "I have sent you frankincense "and myrrh in abundance, that you may no lon- "ger be churlish in your attentions to the gods."

A casket being one day brought to him, which appeared one of the most valuable things among the treasures and the whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends, what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were proposed by each, but he himself said, "That he should depo- "sit and preserve the Iliad in it." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And, if what the Alexandrians say (upon the faith of Heraclides) be true, Homer was no inactive or useless counsellor to him, in the course of the war. They inform us that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a large city, which was to be peopled with Greeks and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He thought a person with very grey hair, and a most venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines [76].

> High o'er a gulfy sea, the Pharian isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile. (Pope.)

Upon which he immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, at that time an island lying a little

[76] Odyss. iv. 354.

above the Canobic[77] mouth of the Nile, but now joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an isthmus, whose breadth is proportionable to it's length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour[78]. This led him to declare, that "Homer, among his other "admirable qualifications, was an excellent architect;" and he ordered a city to be laid out suitable to the ground, and it's appendent conveniences. For want of chalk, they made use of flour, which answered tolerably well upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by strait lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloke[79].

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds arose, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake; and, lighting upon the place, ate up all the flour that had been used in tracing the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen; but the

[77] The most Western, *Aod.* Maadie, near which stands Rosetta.*

[78] This city, Diod. Sic. informs us, was seated very commodiously by the haven of Pharos; and the streets were so contrived as to admit the cooling breezes, which refreshed the air. Alexander ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to have the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other. It's form resembled that of a soldier's cloke. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, in breadth a hundred feet, and in length forty furlongs or five miles. It became in after-ages so rich and populous, that there were three hundred thousand freemen upon it's rolls. (xvii.)

[79] See Plin. H. N. v. 10. Strabo, xvii. Steph. Byrant. voc. *Alexandria.* With regard to the time of the building, the name of the architect, &c. there are some differences among authors; but they are not very important, and are easily reconciled with each other.*

soothsayers encouraged him to proceed, by representing it as a sign that the city which he was about to build would be blest with such plenty, as to be able to supply all that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went himself to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey[80]; and, beside the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it: one, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days' journey which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south-wind amidst the wastes of sand, as had long before happened to the army of Cambyses. This wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it swallowed up and entombed fifty thousand men[81]. These difficulties were considered, and represented to Alexander; but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that

[80] As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (iii. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of whom consulted that oracle, when he was despatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Lybia against Antæus, and when he marched into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (Serm. xxv.) informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile: and Justin (xi. 11.) says the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother's character, and to gain himself the reputation of a divine extraction.

[81] This tradition (says M. de S. Croix) must appear incredible to any one acquainted with the route followed by the Greeks, who visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and was undoubtedly fabricated to prevent any future invasion of the country.

he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place. The assistances from above, which Alexander experienced in this march, met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though those oracles were, in some measure, confirmed by them. For first, Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only relieved them from all apprehension of suffering by thirst, but by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, rendered the air clear and fit for respiration. In the next place, when they found the marks which were to serve as guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way[a]. When they marched briskly forward, the crows flew with equal swiftness; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also checked their speed. What was still more extraordinary, Callisthenes avers, that whenever they happened to have strayed out of the road by night, these birds recalled them by their croaking, and set them right again.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of his father's assassins had escaped him?" the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, for his father was not a mortal." He then asked, "Whether all the murtherers of Philip were punished; and whether he himself were ordained to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and that Philip's death had been suffi-

[a] Q. Curt. iv. 7. tells the same story; but Strabo represents the whole as the invention of Callisthenes, to gratify his prince's vanity.

"ciently avenged." Upon this, Alexander made his acknowledgements to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account, which most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter which he wrote to his mother upon that occasion, only says, "He received certain "private answers from the oracle, which he would "communicate to her, and to her alone on his "return."

Some writers state that Ammon's prophet, wishing to address him courteously in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion*, which signifies, 'My Son;' but in his barbarous pronunciation made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, *O pai dios*, which signifies, 'O Son of Jupiter.' Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake arose a report, that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo, an Egyptian philosopher; and the saying of his with which he was most pleased, was, "That all men are governed "by God; for in every thing that which rules "and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy; He said, "God is the common father of men, but "more particularly of the virtuous."

When among the barbarians indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with the utmost caution, that he assumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos: "It was not I, who "gave you that free and noble city, but your then "lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip[85].

[85] He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. In the same manner, they subsequently deified Demetrius.

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said; "My friends, this is blood, and not

"The ichor, which the blest immortals shed[84]."

One day, it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner, as to astonish all that heard it: upon which Anaxarchus the sophist[85], being in company with him, said; "Son of Jupiter, could "you do so?" Alexander answered, with a smile, "I do not choose to be so terrible to my friends as "you would have me, who despise my entertain-"ments because you see fish served up, and not "the heads of Persian grandees." The king, it seems, had made Hephæstion a present of some small fish; and Anaxarchus observing it, asked, "Why did he not rather send you the heads of princes[86]?" intimating the worthlessness and vanity of those glittering things, which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue; since, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears then from what has been stated, that

[84] Hom. Il. v. 340. Seneca (Ep. lix.) says, he made this remark, upon receiving a wound in India.

[85] So he is called also by Ælian, Var. Hist. ix. 37.; and apparently with more propriety than Athenæus vi. 13. and Diog. Laert. ix. 58. discover, in calling him 'Philosopher.'

[86] Diog. Laert. ib. imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to his hatred of Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the guest; "it wants only one dish, and that a most delicious "one, the head of a tyrant."—Not the heads of the Satrapæ, or governors of provinces, as here stated by Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he subsequently paid dear for his remark; for after Alexander's death he was forced by contrary winds upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and had him pounded to death in a mortar.

Alexander neither believed nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, but that he only made use of it in order to bring others into subjection.

On his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; upon which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were represented in the greatest perfection, not only with respect to the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those by whom they were exhibited. In Athens, persons are chosen out of the tribes by lot, to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case the princes of Cyprus rivalled each other with incredible ardour, particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicrates king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors, that could be found; Pasicrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander particularly interested himself in behalf of the latter; but he did not discover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. He then, as he left the theatre, said, "I commend the judges "for what they have done; but I would have "given half my kingdom, rather than have seen "Thessalus conquered."

When Athenodorus however was fined by the Athenians for not appearing upon their stage at the feasts of Bacchus[87], and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour, though he refused to comply with his request, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named Lycon, a native of Scarphia[88], performing with great applause before Alexander, dexterously inserted in one of the speeches of the

[87] This anecdote shows the inherent passion of the Athenians for theatrical entertainments, as the preceding one does that of Alexander for whatever trifle he chose to interest himself about.

[88] A city of Locris Epicnemidia, on the Maliac gulf.

comedy a verse, by which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

About this time he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of obtaining his friendship and alliance, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on the western side of the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. On his communicating these proposals to his council, Parmenio said; "If I were Alexander, "I would accept them." "So would I," replied Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." His answer to Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he "should find the best of treatment; if not, he "must advance and seek him."

After this, he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in child-bed[89]; and Alexander was obviously much concerned, because he had lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return, and bury her with the

[89] Longinus notices this, as an instance that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime. "No one," says he, "but Alexander, could have returned such an answer."

Upon the period, and precise nature, of these overtures almost all the historians are more or less at variance with each other; as also with regard to the numbers and losses of the two armies engaged in the ensuing decisive battle of Arbela, or rather Gaugamela.

[90] Here the biographer must be wrong, says M. de Bougainville (*Acad. Des Inscript.* xxv. p. 34, &c.) or the captive queen an adultress, as nearly two years had elapsed since her separation from Darius; and the latter idea her general character wholly excludes.

Was it generous in Alexander, who has been so much celebrated upon this head, the same writer inquires, to have detained his royal prisoners so long? And he endeavours in reply to show, that reasons of policy alone prevented his following the natural liberality of his temper, and setting them all at liberty.

utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber named Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with intelligence of the queen's death.

Darius struck his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah cruel destiny "of the Persians! Was the wife and sister of their "king, not only to be taken captive, but also "after her death to be deprived of the obsequies due "to her high rank!" The eunuch interrupting him, replied, "As to her obsequies, O King, and all the "honours which were her due, there is no reason "to blame the evil genius of the Persians. For "neither my mistress Satira during her life, nor "your royal mother or children, were deprived of "any of the advantages of their former fortune, "except beholding the light of your countenance, "which the great Oromasdes[91] will again cause to "shine with as much lustre as before. Far from "being curtailed of any of the solemnities of a fu"neral, the queen was honoured with the tears of "her very enemies. For Alexander is as mild in "the use of his victories, as he is terrible in bat"tle."

Upon hearing this, Darius was extremely moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, "If thou dost "not revolt to the Macedonians, as the fortune of "Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me "thy lord; tell me, as thou honourest the light "of Mithra and the right-hand of the king, is not

[91] Oromasdes was worshipped by the Persians as the Author of all Good, and Arimanius was deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles, from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them Yerdan, and Abriman.

" the death of Statira the least of her misfortunes,
" which I have to lament? Were we not greater
" objects of compassion, while she lived? And
" amidst all our calamities, would not our dis-
" grace have been less, had we met with a more
" rigorous and savage enemy? For what engage-
" ment, within the compass of virtue, could in-
" duce a young man to do such honour to the
" wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and intreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister; nor to deprive himself of his own best consolation in his misfortune, the reflecting that he had only been defeated by a person superior to human nature. Alexander, he assured him, was more to be admired for the propriety of his behaviour to the women, than for the valour which he had exerted against the men of Persia. At the same time, he confirmed all that he had said with the most aweful oaths, and expatiated still more largely upon the regularity of that prince's conduct and his dignity of mind.

Darius, on this, returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "Ye gods,
" who are the guardians of our birth and the pro-
" tectors of kingdoms, grant that I may re-estab-
" lish the fortunes of Persia, and leave them in
" the glory in which I found them; that victory
" may enable me to return to Alexander those
" favours, which my dearest pledges have expe-
" rienced from him in my fall! But if the time
" determined by fate and the divine wrath, or
" brought about by the vicissitude of things, is
" now come, and the glory of Persia must fall,

" may none but Alexander sit on the throne of " Cyrus[92]!" In this manner, as history informs us, were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered upon the occasion.

Alexander having subdued every thing on this side of the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends by way of amusement told him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, of whom they called one Alexander and the other Darius. These parties began to skirmish with clods, and afterward fought with their fists; and at last, heated by a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, so that they could hardly be separated. The king upon this report ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and with his own hands armed Alexander, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war[93]. The two champions fought with great fury; but he, who bore the name of Alexander, proved victorious: upon which he was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The decisive battle with Darius was not fought

[92] This was the Persian phrase, adopted in compliment to the great founder of their empire. So Horace,

Redditum Cyri solio Phraatem.

(Od. II. ii. 17.)

[93] This was a practice in usage with the old Germans. Tac. *de Mor. Germ.* x. *Victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.*

at Arbela[94] (as most historians will have it) but at Gaugamela, which in the Persian tongue is said to signify, 'The house of the dromedary;' so called, because one of their ancient kings[95], having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his dromedary placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of Boëdromion there happened an eclipse of the moon[96], about the beginning of the festival of the Great Mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and went through his lines by torch-light. In the mean time Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to Fear[97]. The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the whole plain between Niphates and the Gordæan[98] mountains

[94] But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela a considerable town stood near it (Strabo xvi. and Arrian say, 'at a considerable distance,') the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

[95] Darius, the son of Hystaspes, in his passage across the deserts of Scythia.

[96] Astronomers assure us, this eclipse of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian calendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought on the 1st or 2nd of October, Ol. cxii. 2.

[97] In the printed text it is Φοίβῳ, "to Apollo," but Amyot informs us, he found in several MSS. Φόβῳ, "to Fear." The same error, and the same correction by H. Stephens, occur in the Life of Theseus. Fear was not without her altars: Theseus, it appears, sacrificed to her; and Plutarch in the Lives of Agis and Cleomenes, says that 'the Lacedæmonians built a temple to Fear, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious dæmon but as the bond of all good government.'

[98] These mountains were east and west between Armenia and

illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be, to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king therefore after he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat: upon which, he returned them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal a victory."

This answer, it is true, has been supposed by some to indicate the vanity of a young man, who derided the most imminent danger: others, however, have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic also with respect to the future; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no ground for proceeding to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea. For in such a vast empire, it could never be the want of arms, or of men, that would induce Darius to relinquish the dispute; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of day-light.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual; insomuch that, when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were themselves obliged to issue

Mesopotamia, in the northern part of which latter country stood Gaugamela.

orders to the troops to take their morning-refreshment. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and standing by the bed-side called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him, "Why he slept like a man that had already conquered, and not rather like one, who had the "greatest battle the world ever witnessed impending?" Alexander smiled at the question, and said; "In what light can you look upon us, but in "that of conquerors, when we have not now to "traverse desolate countries in pursuit of Darius, "and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not only however before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander showed his excellent judgement and his intrepidity. For the battle was, for some time, doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity, with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazæus had moreover detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round, and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, much disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander that his camp and baggage would be taken, if he did not immediately despatch a strong reinforcement from the front to the rear. At the very moment of receiving this account, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped however to tell the messenger, "Parmenio must have lost his "senses, and forgotten in his disorder that the "conquerors are always masters of all that be-"longed to the enemy; and that the conquered "need not give themselves any concern about "their treasures or prisoners, nor any thing else "indeed except how to sell their lives dearly, and "die in the bed of honour."

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet; for in other points he had come ready-armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion girt close about him, and over that a breast-plate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon which he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all his engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon [99] had exerted all his art upon it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as in exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him: and he had no sooner mounted him, than the signal was always given.

The speech, which he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks upon this occasion, was of some length. When he found that they in their turn strove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarians, he shifted his javelin to his left-hand; and stretching his right toward heaven, according to Cal-

[99] In this description of Alexander's armour, and the mention of the workmen by whom it had been made, as well as in the principle of his preceding reply to Parmenio, and the eagle introduced below, Dacier traces the imitator of Homer.

Helicon and his father Acesus were eminent in the art of embroidery, as we learn from Athenæus, xi. 9., who preserves an inscription to that purport, copied from the temple of Apollo at Delphi. *

listhenes, he entreated the gods "to defend and "invigorate the Greeks, if he was really the son "of Jupiter."

Aristander the soothsayer, who rode by his side in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery the cavalry charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent [100]. Before the first ranks were

[100] Plutarch, as a writer of Lives, not of Histories, does not pretend to give an exact description of battles. But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to see some of the more remarkable in detail, we shall give an account of this from Arrian, and others.

Alexander's right wing charged first upon the Scythian horse; who, as they were well armed and very robust, behaved bravely at the beginning, and made a vigorous resistance. That this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the same time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was terrible, and threatened entire destruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops by their darts, arrows, and stones killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and, before any thing decisive happened there, the Persian foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from it's centre. Alexander, perceiving this, sent Aratas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, prosecuting his first design, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble resistance. Darius upon this gave up all for lost, and fled. (Arr. iii. 13, &c.)

Diod. Sic. ascribes the success, which for a time attended the Persian troops, entirely to Darius' conduct and valour. It unfortunately happened that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which though it missed him, struck the charioteer at his feet dead; and as he fell forward, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind

completely engaged, the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host where Darius fought in person. For he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Beside that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the chief part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed met their death before the king's chariot; and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses' legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces that had been placed in the front for his defence, were driven back upon him: the wheels of his chariot were almost over entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it round; while the horses plunging among heaps of the slain bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the

them conjectured that the king was slain, and fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who knowing his route could not be discovered on account of the dust and confusion, wheeled about till he got behind the Persian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander pursued right forward. (xvii.)

Justin informs us, that when those about Darius advised him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, in order to retard the enemy's pursuit, he answered; "I will never purchase safety for "myself at the expense of so many thousands of my subjects, as "must by such a measure be destroyed." (xi. 14.)

hands of the driver. In this extremity he quitted his carriage and arms, and fled, as we are told, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But in all probability he would not so have escaped, if Parmenio had not again despatched some horsemen to desire that Alexander would come to his assistance, as great part of the enemy's forces still maintained their ground, and did not appear disposed to give way. Upon the whole, Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle: whether it was, that age had damped his courage; or (as Callisthenes states) that he regarded Alexander's power and arrogance with an invidious eye, and considered them as insupportable.[101] Alexander, though vexed at being thus stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but under the pretence of being weary of so much carnage, and of it's growing dark, sounded a retreat. As he was riding up, however, to that part of his army, which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having thus terminated, the Persian empire appeared to be totally destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. His first step was, to make his acknowledgements to the gods by magnificent sacrifices; and then to his friends by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified

[101] The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confessed, that Parmenio was the only general he knew: and upon this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field; and the fugitives rallying and joining it, there would have been a respectable force, which might have regained the day.

by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed under the auspices of freedom by their own laws. To the Plataeans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the Crotoniams in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaÿllus[102], a champion of the wrestling-ring; who, in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to their brethren in Greece, fitted out a ship at his own expence, and repaired to Salamis, in order to participate in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions!

He traversed the whole province of Babylon[103], which immediately made it's submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually, and from an inexhaustible source. He was surprised also by a flood of naphtha, not far from this gulf, which flowed in such abundance, that it formed a lake. The naphtha in many respects resembles

[102] In Herodotus, Phoyllus. (viii.) This wrestler three times won the prize at the Pythian games. From Suidas and the Scholiasts on Aristoph. Acharn. i. 5. we learn that he could leap 55, and throw the discus 95 feet!*

[103] In the original it is, 'As he traversed the territory of Babylon, he found in the district of Ecbatana,' &c. Now every body knows, that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulf here mentioned was near Arbela, in the district of Artacene. (Strab.) Scaliger however proposes, that we should read Arectane (from Arec, mentioned Gen. x. 10.) both here and in the passage of Strabo above-cited, instead of Ecbatana.

the bitumen, but it is much more inflammable.[104] Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the king it's force and subtilty, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings; and standing at one end, applied their torches to some of the first drops, as it was growing dark: upon which, the flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously in a blaze.

There was one Athenophanes an Athenian, who among others waited upon Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greatest success, in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy (named Stephen happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his person but an excellent singer, Athenophanes said to the king, "Shall we make an experiment of the naph-"tha upon Stephen? If it take fire upon him, and "do not presently die out, we must allow it's force "to be extraordinary indeed." The boy readily consented to undergo the trial: but as soon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have pre-

[104] *Sunt qui et naphtham bituminis generi ascribunt. Verùm ardens ejus vis, ignium naturæ cognata, procul omni ab usu est.* (Plin. H. N. also Hor. Ep. v. 82.) See (L.)

It is of various colours, and has sometimes the levity, colour, and limpidity of spirits of wine. It is a rare substance, says Mr. Ricard, but is found at Modena, and still more on the surface of the sea near Vesuvius, at the time of the eruptions of that mountain.*

* As no mention is here made of the application of fire, unless it be couched under the words καὶ δηθὲν (which seems probable, indeed, from Strabo's relation of the story) we must suppose an electrical virtue in the naphtha. Plutarch however seems to disclaim that afterward, in the case of Creon's daughter.

vented his being entirely consumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many vessels of water for the service of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguish the fire, and the poor boy felt the ill effects of it as long as he lived.

Those therefore, who desire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unsupported by probability, when they say it was this drug, with which Medea anointed the crown and veil so well known upon the stage.[106] For the flame did not come from the crown or veil, neither did they take fire of themselves; but upon the approach of fire they soon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at some distance have no other effect upon most bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in those which are dry, and porous, or saturated with oily particles, they collect themselves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter so well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty, as to the generation of this naphtha; whether it derives it's inflammable quality from * * * * * * * * * * * [107], or rather from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil. For in the province of Babylon the ground is of so fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulsation to the earth: and, in the hot months, the people are obliged to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants, and he succeeded in every thing

[106] *Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem*
Serpente fugit alite.
(Hor. Epod. iii. 13, vol. 6.)

[107] Something is here wanting in the original.

except ivy ;[108] which loves a cold soil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that fiery mold. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they be not too long.

Alexander, having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace forty thousand talents in coined money,[109] and the royal furniture and other riches were of incalculable value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione to the amount of five thousand talents,[110] which though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained it's original freshness and beauty. The reason assigned for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their primitive lustre. Dinon[111] informs us, that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and placed among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and of their being masters of the world.

The entrance into Persia was difficult, on account of the roughness of the country in that part,

[108] Theophrastus gives as a similar account of this attempt, and of the reason of it's failure (Hist. Plant. iv. 4., ii. 4.) and yet Pliny, H. N. xvi. 34, states that in his time ivy grew in Asia; most probably, however, in some parts of it remote from Babylon. Plutarch elsewhere represents it as thriving best, like the vine, in cold climates.*

[109] Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, says 'fifty thousand.'

[110] Or five thousand talents' weight. Dacier calls it so many hundred weight; and to this the eastern talent was nearly equivalent. Pliny informs us, that a pound of the double-dipped Tyrian purple, in the time of Augustus, was sold for an hundred crowns. The Laconic purple, likewise, stood in very high estimation with the ancients. See Hor. Od. II. xviii. 7.

[111] The father of Cliarchus, who accompanied Alexander in his expeditions.*

and because the passes were guarded by the bravest of the Persians, for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who spoke both Greek and Persian, being sprung from a Lycian father and a Persian mother, offered himself as a guide to Alexander, and showed him how he might enter it by taking a circuit. This was the person referred to by the priestess of Apollo, when upon Alexander's consulting her at a very early period of life, she foretold, "That a Lycian would conduct him into "Persia." Those, that first fell into his hands in that country, were slaughtered in vast numbers. He himself informs us, that he ordered no quarter to be given, because he thought such an example would be of service to his affairs. It is said, he found as much gold and silver coin there, as he had done at Susa; and that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels.[112]

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a large statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedestal by the crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive; "Shall we leave you," said he, "in this condition, "on account of the war which you made upon "Greece, or rear you again for the sake of "your magnanimity and your other virtues?" After he had stood a long time, considering in silence what he should do, he passed on and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves,

[112] Diodorus (xviii. 66.) says, 'three thousand.' (L.) See also Q. Curt. v. 6, who represents the immense sums found by Alexander as the accumulation of many princes for a long series of years.*

he stayed there four months, for it was now winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the same friendship and affection for Alexander as he had before entertained for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation; "What a great pleasure have those "Greeks missed, who died without having seen "Alexander seated upon the throne of Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a splendid entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. Of these the most celebrated was Thäis, a native of Attica, and mistress of Ptolemy afterward king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and sprightliness, she addressed him over his wine in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her stamp: "I have undergone extreme fatigues," said she, "in wandering about Asia; but this day has "brought me full compensation, by enabling me "to insult the proud courts of the Persian kings. "Ah! how much greater pleasure would it be to "finish the carousal with burning the palace of "Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes, and to set "fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander[113]!

[113] These domes were not reared solely for regal magnificence and security, but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to secrete the royal pleasures from those that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised not only for vanity but for riot, so probably through vanity, inflamed by riot, it fell. A striking instance of the insignificance of human labours, and the depravity of human nature!

"Then shall it be said in times to come, that "the very women of his train more signally "avenged the cause of Greece upon the Persians, "than all that the generals before him could do "either by sea or land."

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits, and the most tumultuary acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with her proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leaped from his seat; and with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The rest followed with shouts of joy, and dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians, who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with much satisfaction. For they concluded, from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turning homeward, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account, which most writers have given of the motives of this transaction. There are not wanting, however, some who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflection. But all agree, that the king soon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished.[*]

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible

[*] A prophecy, in a certain degree, how admirably fulfilled by Dryden's immortal Ode on St. Cecilia's Day!

"Give the vengeance due
To the valiant crew, &c. &c."

[*] The ruins of this celebrated palace are still to be seen, as M. de St. Croix proves in opposition to M. le Comte de Caylus, who thinks differently of the present remains of Persepolis.

charm. To adduce a few instances: Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and said; "Among us, Sir, such a "present is rewarded with a golden cup." The king with a smile replied, "An empty one, I suppose; but I will give you one full of good "wine, and I drink out of it your health into "the bargain." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstances was driving a mule laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burthen upon his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it's weight. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said; "Hold on, friend, the "rest of the way, and carry it to your own tent: "for it is your's." He was generally indeed more offended at those who refused, than at those who solicited his favours. Hence he wrote to Phocion, "That he should no longer number "him among his friends, if he rejected the marks "of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at ball, because he asked nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which, Alexander said, "Why don't you "give it to me?" "Because you did not ask for "it," said the youth. This repartee pleased the king exceedingly: he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable presents. One Proteas, a man of humour and a jester by profession, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he himself with tears implored forgiveness, which at last the king granted. "If "you really pardon me," resumed the wag, "I "hope you will give me at least some substantial

" proof of it." And he condescended to do it, in a present of five talents.

With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and body-guards[116], appears from one of Olympias' letters. "You do well," said she, " in serving your friends, and it is right to " act nobly; but by rendering them all equal to " kings, in proportion as you enable them to " make friends, you deprive yourself of that pri- " vilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters secret except one, upon which Hephæstion happened to cast his eye, when he went according to custom to read over the king's shoulder. The king did not prevent his reading on; but as soon as he had finished, he took his signet from his finger, and put it to his mouth[117].

The son of Mazæus, who was Darius' principal favourite, was already governor of a province and the conqueror added to it another government still more considerable. But the young man modestly declined it, and said, "Sir, we had only " one Darius, and you now make many Alexan- " ders." He bestowed on Parmenio the house of Pagoas, in which were found such goods as were taken at Susa, to the value of a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him, that there was a design formed against his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent presents, but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in

[116] Plutarch here probably means, in particular, the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedon. Their office was to wait upon him at table, to attend with horses when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber-door. (Q. Curt. v. 1.)

[117] To enjoin him silence.

state-affairs, or in the least to interfere with the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater once sent him a long letter, full of heavy complaints against her; and when he had read it, he said, "Antipater knows "not, that a single tear from a mother can blot "out a thousand such complaints."

He found that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were extravagantly delicate in their diet, and in every other respect profuse: insomuch, that Agnon of Teos wore silver[us] nails in his shoes; Leonatus had many camel-loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himself with, when he went to the wrestling-ring; Philotas had hunting-nets, that would enclose the space of a hundred furlongs; and others more frequently used rich essences than oil after bathing. And had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved, with all the temper of a philosopher. He told them, "It was strange to him "that, after having undergone so many glorious "conflicts, they did not remember that those who "come from labour and exercise always sleep "more sweetly than the inactive and effeminate; "and that, in comparing the Persian with the Macedonian manners, they did not perceive that "nothing was more servile than the love of plea-"sure, or more princely than a life of toil! How "ill will that man," continued he, "take care of

[us] Gold, say Athenæus, xii. 9; and Ælian, ix. 3. (who gives nearly the same account of the rest, as Alexander) and Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 3. Teos was a city of Ionia, opposite Chios, and the country of Anacreon.*

[*] This does not appear from the historians above cited. He rather assisted to corrupt them, as M. de St. Croix has fully proved; but Plutarch is, occasionally, too much of a panegyrist.*

" his horse, or furbish his lance and helmet, whose " hands are too delicate to wait on his own dear " person? Don't you know that the end of con- " quest is, not to do what the conquered have " done, but something greatly transcendent?" After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever: so that a Lacedæmonian embassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said; "Alex- " ander, you have disputed the prize of royalty " gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and conse- crated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus advancing to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person by way of exercise for himself, and of example to others. But his friends in the pride of wealth were so de- voted to luxury and ease, that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burthen, and by degrees began to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first, he bore their censures with great moderation, and used to say; "There was some- " thing noble in hearing himself censured, while " he was doing well[120]." In the least of the good offices indeed, which he did his friends, these were strong marks of affection and respect. Of this, we will record an instance or two. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bitten by a bear in hunting, to complain that he had given an ac- count of the accident by letters to others of his

[120] Voltaire somewhere observes, that 'it is a noble thing to make ingrates.' For this sentiment, he seems to have been in- debted to Alexander.

friends, and none to himself. "But now," said he, "let me know however how you do, and "whether any of your company deserted you, "that in that case I may punish them, as they "deserve." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he informed him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon[a], Craterus had had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas' lance. When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the physician, to thank him for his care. During Craterus' sickness the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery; and ordered him to do the same. When he heard that Pausanias the physician intended to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him, expressing his great anxiety on the subject, and desiring him to be particularly cautious in the use of that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of the flight and treasonable practices of Harpalus, supposing their information false. Upon his sending home the invalid and

[a] The Egyptian rat, called ichneumon, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash-colour; it's nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, &c. and is of considerable service in Egypt, by it's natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too vast an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itself up in mud it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws it's way out again. (Diod Sic., Plin. H. N. viii. 24, 25.) The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon, for destroying crocodiles. They worshipped the crocodile likewise, probably as Indians worship the devil, that he might do them no hurt.

superannuated part of his forces, Eurylochus the Ægæan got himself enrolled among the former. Soon afterward, it was discovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confessed it was the love of Telesippa, who was about to return home, that suggested to him that expedient in order to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that though a courtesan she was not a slave, he said; "Eurylochus, I "am willing to assist you in this affair: but, as "the woman is free-born, you must see if we "can prevail upon her by presents and by court-"ship."

It is surprising, that he had time or inclination to write letters about such unimportant affairs relative to his friends, as to give orders for diligent search to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus' run-away slave; to commend Peucestas for having seized Nicon, a slave that belonged to Craterus, and to direct Megabyzus,[122] if possible, to draw another slave from his asylum and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is said that in the first years of his reign, when capital causes were brought before him, he used to stop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reserve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many false informations which were subsequently lodged, and which by means of some true circumstances were so represented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. More particularly in the case of aspersions upon his own character, his reason

[122] This was a name common to the priests of Diana at Ephesus, as we learn from Appian, Strabo, and Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 11.

forsook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly severe, as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he again set out upon his march against Darius, he expected another battle. But on receiving intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians and sent them home, after he had given them in addition to their pay a gratuity of two thousand talents. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand three hundred furlongs in eleven days.[123] As they often suffered more from want of water, than from fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. These people, seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day) immediately filled a helmet with water, and presented it to him. He asked them, "To whom "they were carrying it?" they replied, "To their "sons: but if our prince only lives, we shall get "other children, should we lose those we have at "present." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and seeing the horsemen bending their heads and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. He commended the people however that offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these good men will be dispirited."[124] The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act

[123] As this was less than forty miles a day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing, when compared with Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to Annibal's expedition along the African coast: (L.) yet even this, as too much for a numerous cavalry (especially, in a hot country) M. De St. Croix has thought proper to reduce to one half, by diminishing in that degree the length of the stadium of the original text.

[124] Lucan has embellished this story for Cato, and has possibly introduced it merely upon imitation. (ix. 503, &c.)(L.)

of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let "us march! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor "shall we even think ourselves mortal, while un- "der the conduct of such a king." At the same time, they spurred forward their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadrons, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts.[125] Though he was near his last moment, however, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him some cold water; and when he had drank, he said, "Friend, "this fills up the measure of my misfortunes, to "think that I am not able to reward thee for this "act of kindness. But Alexander will not suf- "fer thee to go without a recompence; and the "gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to "my mother, my wife, and my children. Tell "him I gave him my hand, for I give it thee in

Arrian informs us, that some authorities represented this fact as having happened in Gedrosia on Alexander's return from India, and says he emptied the helmet on the ground. Frontinus, l. 7, lays the scene in Africa*.

125 Fallen from his high estate,
And weltering in his blood;
Deserted, at his utmost need,
By those his former bounty fed.
On the bare earth exposed he lies,
With not a friend to close his eyes!

(Dryden's St. Cecilia's Day.*)

"his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired.[126] When Alexander came up, he evinced his concern for the event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus afterward fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in the following manner: He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder, by the violence of the recoil.[127]

As for Darius' body, he ordered that it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. He there took a view of the Caspian sea, which appeared to him not smaller than the Euxine, but it's water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it issued from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient naturalists were not ignorant of it's origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote that there are four seas stretching from the main ocean into the continent, the most northern of which is the Hyrcanian or Caspian.[128] The barbarians

[126] Ol. cxii. 3. aged fifty years, of which he had reigned six.

[127] Q. Curtius, vi. 5. informs us, that Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, Darius' brother; who caused his nose and ears to be cut off, and had him fastened to a cross, where he was despatched with darts and arrows. See also Diod. Sic., xvii. 83. Arrian gives an account differing from all the others.

[128] This is an error, which Pliny likewise has followed. The Caspian sea has no communication with the ocean: but see upon the whole of this paragraph M. De St. Croix.

here fell suddenly upon a party, who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked Alexander so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and children with utter extermination, if they did not restore him the horse. But upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with the utmost clemency, and paid a considerable sum as ransom to those by whom he had been taken.[129]

Thence, he advanced into Parthia; where finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings: whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much accommodation and similarity of manners tend to gain men's hearts; or did it by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. He thought the Median habit however made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore did not take the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the tiara[130]; but, adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first, he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in process of time he began to wear it when he appeared in public,

[129] The scene of this adventure, likewise, is laid differently by Arrian v., Q. Curt. vi. 5., and Diod. Sic. xvii. 76. The Uxii of Arrian is probably the Bulaxaam of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller; who says, there were still remaining in his time some horses of Bucephalus' breed, designated by a peculiar natural mark on the forehead.*

[130] Most probably, something like the modern turban. It was worn upright by the sovereign, and slouched by his subjects.*

and sat for the despatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to gratify himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who beside his other hardships had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner, that splinters were taken out; who at another time had received such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time; and who yet continued to expose his person, without the least precaution: so that when he passed the Orexartes (which he, erroneously, supposed to be the Tanaïs) he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, though suffering at that time under a severe flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela,[131] Ptolemy, Antichides, Philo the Theban, Philip who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos treat the story as a fiction. And, indeed, Alexander himself seems to support their opinion. For in one of

[131] In the Greek text it is σατραπαλων, both here and immediately below. Σατραπαλης signifies 'a gentleman-usher;' but it does not appear that either Chares or Philip ever held such an office. And from Athenæus (vi.) who mentions Philip as belonging to Theangela in Caria, it is certain that Θεαγγελων is the right reading. (L.)

For the particulars of this royal visit see Q. Curt. v. 6., Diod. Sic. xvii. 77., Justin. xii. 3., Arrian vii., and Strabo. The two latter seem justly to treat it as a fable. Of the Amazons some account is given in the Life of Theseus.

his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that passed, he states that the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, without making the least mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Onesicritus many years afterward read to Lysimachus (then king) the fourth book of his history, in which this story was introduced, he smiled and said, "Where "was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular or not, is a matter that will neither enhance nor diminish our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might dislike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greatest part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a select body of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The purport of his speech, upon this occasion, was as follows: "Hitherto, the barbarians have "seen us only as in a dream. If you should "think of returning, after having merely given "Asia the alarm, they will fall upon you with "contempt as upon a parcel of women. Nevertheless, such as desire to depart have my free "consent: but at the same time I call the gods "to witness, that they desert their king when he "is conquering the world for the Macedonians, "and leave him to the more faithful attachment "of those friends, that will follow his fortune." This is almost literally the same, with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had "no sooner done speaking, than they cried, he "might lead them on to what part of the world "he pleased." He thus tried the disposition of these brave men, and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body over to their sentiments: they followed of course.

After this, he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions; for by a mixture of both he thought an union might be promoted, much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance. For the same reason he elected thirty thousand boys, and gave them masters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana,[132] it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Neither was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection: They were delighted to think, that he would not approach the only woman, whom he had ever passionately loved, without the sanction of marriage.

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, the other more of his esteem. He was convinced indeed, and frequently said, "Hephæstion loved "Alexander, and Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail occasionally to break out. One day in India they drew their swords, and came to blows. The friends

[132] She was the daughter of Oxyartes, prince or satrap of Bactriana, according to most writers. Q. Curtius, however, makes her father's name Cohortanus.

of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, if he did not know "that without his master's favour he would be "nothing." He gave Craterus, also, a severe reprimand in private: and after having brought them together, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon and all the other gods, "That he "loved them more than all the men in the world; "but, if he perceived them again at variance, he "would put them both to death, or at least the "aggressor." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never afterward expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest.

Among the Macedonians Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had considerable authority. For he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but next to Alexander, no man had more love for his friend, or a greater spirit of generosity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requested a sum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The steward replied, "He had it not to give." "What," said Philotas, "hast thou not plate, "or some other moveable?" He affected an ostentation of wealth however, and a magnificence in his dress and table, that was above the condition of a subject. Besides, the loftiness of his port was altogether extravagant: not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it exposed him both to hatred and suspicion; so that Parmenio one day said to him, "My son, be less." He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damascus with all it's riches was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives brought to the camp, was a beautiful young woman called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to

Philotas' share. Like a young soldier with a favourite mistress, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiscreet things escape him, attributing all the great actions of the war to himself, and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman imparted this in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned it to another. At last, it came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as usual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he said. Philotas, ignorant of the snare laid for him, expressed himself to the woman without reserve, and either in his resentment or pride uttered many unbecoming things against Alexander. That prince, though he had sufficient proof against Philotas, kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aversion; whether it was, that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or feared the power and interest of his family.

About this time, a Macedonian named Limnus[133], a native of Chalestra, conspired against Alexander's life: and communicated his design to one Nicomachus, a youth to whom he was strongly attached, desiring him to take a part in the enterprise. Nicomachus, instead of embracing the proposal, informed his brother Balinus[134] of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and begged him to introduce them to Alexander, assuring him

[133] It should, undoubtedly, be read 'Dymnus,' as Q. Curt. vi. 7. and Diod. Sic. xvii. 79. have it. Nothing is easier than for a transcriber to have changed the Δ into a Λ. Chalestra was a city near a lake in Macedon, celebrated for it's nitre.

[134] Q. Curt. ib. calls him 'Cebalinus,' as does likewise Diod. Sic.

that it was upon business of the utmost importance. Whatever might be his reason (for it is not known) Philotas refused them admittance, under a pretence that Alexander had other engagements at that time upon his hands. They again applied, and met with a second denial. They now began to entertain some suspicion of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron,[135] who immediately introduced them to the king. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his having rejected two successive applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus had killed him[136], because he stood upon his defence and refused to be taken, it disturbed him still more, to think that he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resentment against Philotas gave an opportunity to those, who had long hated that officer, of avowing their dislike, and declaring how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon, as to think that Limnus an insignificant Chalæstrean durst of his own accord have engaged in such a bold design. "No "doubt," said they, "he was the agent or "rather the instrument, of some superior hand; "and the king should seek the source of the conspiracy among those, who have the most interest in keeping it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and

[135] In the printed text it is ἄτοπον; but one of the MSS. gives us Μέτρωνα, which agrees with Curtius. Some name seems to be wanting, and Metron was, as master of the wardrobe, a considerable officer of the king's household.

[136] According to other authors, he killed himself.

to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable and some very groundless accusations against Philotas. He was apprehended, and put to the torture,[137] in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry, to hear the examination: and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himself in such a lamentable manner, and supplicated Hephæstion with such abject humiliation, he is reported to have said; "O Philotas, how darest "thou, with all this unmanly weakness, embark "in so hazardous an enterprise?"

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately despatched orders into Media that Parmenio should be put to death; a man who had taken a part in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counsellors, that had suggested to Alexander his expedition into Asia. Of three sons, whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he himself fell a sacrifice. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They, as well as he, had something to fear from Alexander, for they had sacked the city of the Œniades;[138] and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The "children of the Œniades need not revenge their "cause: I will punish the Ætolians myself."

Soon after this, happened the affair of Clitus; which, however simply related, is much more

[137] Of this no mention is made by the eye-witnesses, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, as quoted by Arrian iii. 26. They only say, he was shot with arrows. See M. de. St. Croix.*

[138] Situated in Acarnania, at the mouth of the river Acheloüs, so called probably from Œneus, the father of Deianira.*

shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we weigh the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner: the king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired it's freshness and beauty, he desired that Clitus might see and partake of it. It happened, that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day; but he left it, in order to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep, on which the libation had been already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his sooth-sayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they both assured him, it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, because three days before he had had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. Before the sacrifice however was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.[139]

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranichus (or, as others will have it, of Pierio) written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers, who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older

[139] Hence, as Arrian informs us this homage was usually paid to Bacchus, the resentment of that deity through the medium of his peculiar beverage stimulated Alexander to the murther of his friend. See Q. Curt. viii. 2. Plutarch, we have seen, imputed Bacchus' hostility to his patriotic feelings for Thebes, which the Macedonian prince had laid in ruins.*

part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander and those immediately about him listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well "done to make a jest, and that among barbarians "and enemies, of Macedonians that were much "better men than the laughers, though they had "met with a misfortune." Alexander replied, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, when "he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Upon which Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it "was this cowardice that saved you, son of Ju"piter as you are, when you were turning your "back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the "blood of the Macedonians and by these wounds "that you are grown so lofty, as to disdain ac"knowledging Philip for your father, and to en"deavour to pass yourself off for the son of Jupi"ter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is thus, old villain, that thou talkest of me in "all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians "to mutiny; but dost thou think long to en"joy it?" "And what do we enjoy now?" said Clitus: "what reward have we for all our toils? "Do we not envy those, who did not live to see "Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to "Persians for access to their king?" While he went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. In the mean time, Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian and Artemius the Colophonian, and said; "Do not the Greeks appear to "you, among the Macedonians, like demi-gods

"among so many wild beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander, "To "speak out what he had to say, or not to invite "freemen to his table, who would declare their "sentiments without reserve. But, perhaps (con-"tinued he) it were better to pass your life with "barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Per-"sian girdle and white robe without reluctance."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes, [140] one of his body-guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were fruitless: He broke from them, and called out in the Macedonian language for his guards, which was the signal of a great tumult. At the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. This man was afterward held in high esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends with much difficulty forced him out of the room: but he soon returned by another door, repeating in a bold and disrespectful tone those verses from the Andromache of Euripides;

> Alas! what evil customs harass Greece!
> [Shall one man claim the trophies won by thousands,&c.] [141]

Upon this, Alexander snatched a spear from one

[140] Q. Curtius, ix. 5., and Arrian call him, 'Aristonus.'

[141] This is the speech of Peleus to Menelaus, in that tragedy, 693—698. in which he charges the Atridæ with arrogating to themselves the whole honour of the expedition against Troy. See also Q. Curt. viii. 1.

of the guards, and meeting Clitus as he was drawing the door-curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment: he came to himself, and seeing his friends standing around in silent astonishment, hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He passed that night, and the next day, in anguish inexpressible; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him. But he would listen to none of them except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep, and assured him that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite were called in.[142] Callisthenes began in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without probing the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out on entering the room; "Is this Alexander, "upon whom the whole world fix their eyes?

[142] Callisthenes of Olynthus had generally too much of the spirit of liberty, to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance; thinking perhaps that Alexander, in his present affliction, required consolation rather than remonstrance. Aristotle had forewarned him from Homer, that if he went on to treat the king with his usual freedom, it would one day prove fatal to him:

Πληθυσει δη μοι, τυχος, τοσσατα ειδομενος. (Il. xviii. 95.)

"Short date of life, my son, these words forebode."

"Can it be he who lies extended on the ground "crying like a slave, in fear of the law and the "tongues of men, to whom he should himself be "a law and the measure of right and wrong? "Why did he conquer, but to rule and to com- "mand, not servilely to submit to the vain opi- "nions of others? Know you not (continued he) "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and "Justice[143] by his side, to show that whatever is "done by supreme power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him withal more haughty and unjust. At the same time, he so deeply insinuated himself into his favour, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was far from agreeable on account of his austerity.

One day, a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons, and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes agreed with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and had winters more severe than Greece. Anaxarchus, with great obstinacy, maintained the contrary. Upon which Callisthenes said, "You must "indeed admit, my friend, that this is much the "colder; for there you wore but one cloke in "winter, and here you cannot sit at table without "three housing-coverlets one over another." This stroke went to Anaxarchus' heart.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and was not less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was stated as the cause of his going to Alexander, name-

[143] "The throne is established by righteousness." (Prov. xvi. 12.)

ly, an ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to repeople the place of his nativity.[144] His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy: and he himself gave some room for calumny by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he accepted them, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed, that he could neither commend, nor approve what was passing: insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

——————— I hate the sage,
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself,[145]

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came round to him, he was desired to pronounce an eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore; which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, beside their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this Alexander said, in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel.

"But show us now," continued he, "the power "of your rhetoric in speaking against the Macedo- "nians, that they may see their faults and amend." The orator then took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he proved to have been the only cause of the increase of Philip's power: concluding with these words,

[144] Olynthus was one of the cities, which had been destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it, is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that in his time it was a flourishing place. (In Verr. iii.)

[145] A verse of Euripides, cited also by Cicero to Cæsar, Ep. Fam. xiii. 15. The next quotation is from the Bacch. 266.

Amidst sedition's waves,
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander said; "He had given in this case a specimen, not of his "eloquence, but of his malevolence."

Hermippus assures us that Stroïbus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes perceiving the king's aversion repeated this verse twice or thrice at parting:

Patroclus, thy superior, is no more.[146]

It was not therefore without reason, that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence indeed "is great, but he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration; but stood forth singly, and uttered in public many grievances, which the best and oldest of the Macedonians durst only bewail in secret. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks indeed from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater, but he ruined himself: because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel, than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends; who on receiving it rose up, and turning toward the hearth[147] (where stood the domestic gods) to drink,

[146] Hom. H. xxi. 107.

[147] By this action, as Dacier supposes, the flatterer wished to insinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domestic gods. But, as the king sat in that part of the room where the Penates were, we rather consider it as a wretched excuse to the man's own conscience for this act of religious worship, because their posi-

first worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to notice him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Don't receive his "kiss; for he alone has not adored you." Upon which, Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return a kiss the poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued; but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his word. Lysimachus and Agnon next attacked him, and said; "The sophist went about with as "much pride as if he had demolished a tyranny, "and the young men followed him, as the only "freeman among so many thousands." These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaus'[145] plot against Alexander, give an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. According to his enemies, Hermolaus had inquired of him, "By what means he might become the most "eminent man in the world?" and he had answered, "By killing the most eminent man in the "world." They farther asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him, "not be afraid of the golden bed; but remember "that he had to do with a man, who had suffered "both by sickness and by wounds."

tion made it dubious, whether it was intended for Alexander or for themselves.

[145] Hermolaus, according to Q. Curt. viii. 1. and Arrian iv., was a young man of high birth, and with his accomplices appears to have filled the station of page about the king's person.

Neither Hermolaus however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account which he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, wrote; "That the young men, when put to the "torture, declared it was entirely their own enterprise, and that no man besides was privy "to it." Yet afterward, in a letter to Antipater, he affirmed that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest: "The Macedonians," says he, "have stoned the young men to death. As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those that "sent him too; neither shall the towns, that harboured the conspirators, escape." In which he plainly discovers his dislike to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes had been brought up, as a relation; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say, Alexander ordered him to be hanged: others, that he fell sick and died in chains. And Chares states, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council in the presence of Aristotle; but that he died of excessive corpulence and the lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India.[146] This happened, however, at a later period than that of which we are now writing.

In the mean time, Demaratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of

[146] The accounts of his death are extremely various, see Arrian iv., Q. Curt. viii. 8., Justin xv. 3., Diog. Laërt. Arist. v. 5. Athenæus informs us, that he was carried about in an iron cage, in which he was almost eaten up by vermin; and that he was at last thrown to a lion to be devoured. The subjoined remark of Demaratus occurs before in this Life.*

going to see Alexander. He accordingly took the voyage, and when he beheld him, exclaimed; "What a great pleasure have those Greeks missed, "who died without seeing Alexander seated upon "the throne of Darius!" But he did not live to enjoy the king's friendship. He sickened, and expired soon afterward. The king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of immense extent, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes were carried to the sea-shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was on the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils, that they were unfit to march. Early in the morning therefore, upon which he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first burned his own baggage and that of his friends; and then gave orders, that the rest should be treated in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take, than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burned and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This strongly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for having refused to stay in a fortress, of which he had given him the charge; and one of the barbarians named Osodates, who had rebelled against him, he shot dead with an arrow.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a tiara upon it's head, on each side of which were testicles. Regarding the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chal-

dæans[147], who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. Upon this occasion, he told his friends, "That he was more troubled on their account, than his own; for he was "afraid that, after his death, fortune would throw "the empire into the hands of some obscure and "weak man." A better omen, however, soon dissipated his fears. A Macedonian named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening the ground near the river Oxus in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor[148]; which after the surface was taken off became perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and brightness of colour, though there were no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, as to make the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining[149].

It appears, from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was highly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it as one of the happiest presages, which the gods had afforded him. The soothsayers said, it betokened that the expedition would prove a glorious, but at the same time a laborious

[147] Among the Chaldeans chiefly these kinds of lustrations had originated; and they were, of course, very skilful in performing them.*

[148] Strabo, xi. ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. "The Ochus indeed and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian sea. (L.) Eustathius (on Dion. Perieg.) and Arrian iv. specify two fountains, as near each other, one of water and the other of oil.*

[149] Pliny informs us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice. This salt-consistence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing about the unctuous quality mentioned by Plutarch, (H. N. xxxi.)

and difficult one, because heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly, he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very considerable wounds. But his army suffered most from the want of necessaries, and from the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: He thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the daring[150]. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres upon a rock[151] extremely steep and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres "were a man of spirit?" And being answered, "That he was a complete dastard;" he said, "You "inform me that the rock may be taken, since "there is no strength in it's defender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the assault, there was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to say to him, "You must behave gallantly, my friend, in or"der to do justice to your name." He afterward learned, that the young man fell as he was glori-

[150] One of the MSS. instead of πολεμοις, has ἀλωμοις, in which case the latter member of the sentence should be rendered, 'nor secure to cowards.'

[151] This strong hold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain capable of maintaining five hundred men. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes. (L.) For the varieties in the names of this, and the two other strong fortresses of Arimazes and Aornus, taken by Alexander. See Q. Curt. vii. 2. viii. 2, 11. &c. &c.

ously distinguishing himself, and he was deeply concerned at the event.

When he sat down before Nysa[152], the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed it's walls; till Alexander said, "What a "wretch am I, that I did not learn to swim!" and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, embassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and, along with them, deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour, without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased, when he bade the oldest of the embassadors, named Acuphis, take the pillow that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked, "What "they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on condition that "they appoint you their governor, and send me "a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said; "I should go-"vern better, if you would take the worst, instead "of the best."

The dominions of Taxiles in India[153], it is said, were as large as Egypt: they afforded likewise excellent pasturage, and were in every respect most productive. As he was a man of consummate prudence, he waited upon Alexander, and after the first compliments thus addressed him:

[152] Arrian calls it 'Nyssa,' and so does the Vulcob. MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysius or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionysiopolis. *Hod.* Nerg.

[153] Between the Indus and the Hydaspes. (Strabo xv.) Taxiles was the common name of the princes of that country.

"What occasion is there for wars between you "and me, if you are not come to deprive us of "our water and other necessaries of life; the only "things, for which reasonable men will take up "arms? As to gold and silver and other posses- "sions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to "oblige you with part; if I am poorer, I have no "objection to sharing in your bounty." Charm- ed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand and answered, "Do you think then, by all this "civility, to escape without a conflict? You "are much deceived, if you do. I will dispute "it with you to the last, but it shall be in favours "and benefits; for I will not have you outdo me "in generosity." After having received great pre- sents from him therefore, and made him greater in return[154], he said to him one evening; "I drink to "you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, "you shall have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The most warlike of the Indians were accustom- ed to fight for pay. Upon this invasion, they defended the cities that hired them with much vi- gour, and Alexander suffered not a little from their exertions. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation; and yet he seized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march home- ward, and put them all to the sword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king[155].

[154] See Q. Curt. viii. 12.*

[155] It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians when they entered Italy, viz. that the weak must

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reason, he ordered many of them to be hanged.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own Epistles. According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies; and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy, with their heads toward the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm.[156] This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river at some distance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked by a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swelled with the rain by it's violence and rapidity had made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay; so that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. Upon this occasion, he is said to

submit to the strong! Those barbarians indeed were much honester men, for they had another and a better plea; they went to seek bread. (L.) Besides, there were other traits of barbarity toward the conclusion of his reign, which are to be found detailed in M. de St. Croix.*

[156] See Frontin. i. 4., and Polyæn. iv. 3.*

have uttered that celebrated saying: "O Athe-"nians, will you believe what dangers I encoun-"ter, in order to secure your applauses[157]?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus. Alexander himself only says, that they quitted their boats, and armed as they were, waded up the breach breast-high: and that, when they were landed, he advanced with the horse twenty furlongs before the foot; concluding that, if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be much an overmatch for them, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his own would come in time to receive them. Neither did he judge amiss. The enemy detached against him a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the spot.

From this, Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river; and he therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from effecting their passage. Alexander considering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself, while Cœnus according to his orders fell upon the right. Both wings being broken retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then became of a more mixed kind; but was maintained with such obstinacy, that it was

[157] The love of fame has been well pronounced by Milton,

'The last infirmity of noble minds.'

but it is a motive, as Dacier observes, which neither Socrates, nor Zeno, nor Epictetus, would have approved; still less is it to be commended by those, who believe in the gospel. Of such, as perform their great actions to be seen of men, it has been

not decided till the eighth hour of the day[158]. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself, in one of his Epistles.

Most historians agree, that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant upon which he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk was such, as to make him appear only proportionally mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink, under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he wished to be treated?" He answered, "Like a king." "And have you no-"thing else to request?" demanded Alexander. "No," said he; "every thing is comprehended in "the word, king." Alexander not only immediately restored him his own dominions, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but annexed to them very extensive territories; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities[159] and vil-

pronounced by Christ himself, "Verily I say unto you, they have their reward." (Matt. vi. 2.)*

[158] 2 P. M. This victory was gained B. C. 327. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 88.) About Porus' height there are different accounts. That in the text is the lowest. Diod. Sic. ib. makes this giant of the east five cubits high, and adds, that his chest was double the ordinary breadth, and that he darted his javelin with the force of an engine!*

[159] Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city, as the number of cities. Arrian's ac-

lages in proportion, he bestowed it upon Porus. Another country, thrice as large, he gave to Philip one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds[160], of which he some time afterward died. This is the account, which most writers give us: But Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Upon this occasion, Alexander showed as much regret, as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He esteemed him, indeed, as such; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place were he was buried, which he called after him Bucephalia. He is reported likewise to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo of Lesbos[161].

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty that they had defeated an enemy, who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and they therefore opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that

count is this: "He took thirty-seven cities, the least of which contained five thousand inhabitants, and several of them above ten. He took also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and gave the government of the country to Porus."

[160] Arrian v. states it as the report of some writers, that he was killed by Porus' son in the engagement.*

[161] Who wrote an account of Alexander's Indian exploits. To this very animal Pollux most probably alludes v. 5., where he says that Alexander bought in India a dog, which was accustomed to fight with lions, for a hundred minæ, &c.*

they should pass the Ganges[162], which (they were informed) was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathom. The opposite shore likewise (they understood) was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians[163] were said to be there awaiting them, with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war. Neither is this number at all magnified; for Androcottus, who reigned not long afterward, made Seleucus a present at once of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring "He did not thank the Macedonians in the "least for what they had done, if they would not "pass the Ganges; for he considered a retreat, "as an absolute acknowledgement that he was "overcome." His friends omitted nothing, that

[162] The Ganges is the largest river in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth. (L.) But they are all mere streams, when compared with the American rivers. In Strabo's time, a letter from Craterus to his mother was still extant, announcing Alexander's arrival on the banks of the Ganges, and the strange appearance of that river.*

[163] These, as it appears from Strabo (though Q. Curt., ix. 2., has assigned only one king to them both) were two distinct nations; and the capital of the latter was Palibothra, which Robertson in an elaborate note, differing with great diffidence from Major Rennell, proves to be the modern Allahabad. Major R. endeavours to identify it with Patna. (See Robertson's *Hist. Disq. on India*, not. xiv.) Androcottus is by Justin, xv. 4., and Athenæus i. 15., called Sandracottus.*

might comfort him; and at last their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed upon him to return. He first however sought to establish his fame, by many vain and ridiculous contrivances; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars,[164] for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices upon them in the Grecian manner. Androcottus, who was at that time very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have frequently said afterward, "That Alexander was within a very "little of making himself master of the whole "country; with such hatred and contempt was "the reigning prince regarded, on account of "his profligacy of manners and meanness of "birth."

Alexander, in his march thence, formed a design to see the ocean; for which purpose he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and in them fell down the rivers at his leisure. Neither was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all compelled to submit to his victorious arms. He was very near being cut in pieces however by the Malli,[165] who are called the most warlike peo-

[164] For the particulars of these altars, see Diod. Sic. xvii. 95., Arrian vii., Plin. N. H. vi. 17., Philostr. Life of Apollon. ii. 43. &c. Diod. Sic. likewise ib., and Q. Curt. ix. 2., give some account of the low-born prince mentioned in the text.*

[165] The scene of this adventure is not uniformly laid among

ple in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it. But, soon after he had reached the top, the scaling-ladder broke. Finding himself and his small party[166] much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself, and leaped down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the barbarians were so much astonished at the flashing of his arms, as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning or some supernatural splendor issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed. But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought. One of them, standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made it's way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. It's force was so great, that he shrunk and bent upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn cimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus[167] placed themselves before him; but the one was wounded, and the other killed. Peucestas the

the Malli. But the whole of Alexander's return is so ably investigated by the very learned and respectable Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster, in his 'Voyage of Nearchus,' that the editor must refer to it generally, as leaving few or no difficulties in the remaining short part of Alexander's life unsolved.*

[166] The word αὐτὸς implies, that he was not quite alone; and it appears immediately afterward, that he was not.

[167] Q. Curt. calls him 'Timæus.' Arrian, Diod. Sic., and Q. Curt. claim for Peucestas, whom we have seen elsewhere subsequently behaving himself in so dastardly a manner, the exclusive honour of this perilous interposition.*

survivor was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself, and laid the barbarian at his feet. He received however fresh wounds, and at last such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself against the wall, and there stood with his face toward the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had entered, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was a current report in the army, that he was dead. When they had with great difficulty sawed off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off his cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but, when the head was drawn, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he still continued weak, and for a great while confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so long deprived of the sight of their king: they assembled, therefore, tumultuously about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but, as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he again retired. When he was able to pursue his journey in a litter by the water-side, he subdued a large tract of land, and many respectable cities.

In the course of this expedition, he took ten of the Gymnosophists,[168] who had been principally

[168] These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were the most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles. Apuleius informs us, that not only the scholars, but the younger pupils, were assembled about dinner-

concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had involved the Macedonians in many other distresses. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he proposed to them the most difficult questions which could be devised, and at the same time declared that he would put to death the first that answered wrong, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most "numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist[169]."

The second was asked, "Whether the earth, or "the sea, produced the largest animals?" He answered, "The earth; for the sea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all ani-"mals?" "That," said he, "with which man is "not yet acquainted[170]."

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuad-"ing Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I "wished him either to live like a brave man, or to "die like a coward[171]."

time, and examined what good they had done that day; and such as could not point out some act of humanity, or useful pursuit in which they had been engaged, were not allowed any dinner. See Strabo xv. They had not, however, this name in Alexander's time.

[169] They did not hold the mortality, but the transmigration, of the soul.

[170] This we suppose to mean man himself, as not being acquainted with himself.

[171] One of the MSS. gives us κολως here, instead of καλως. Then the sense will be, "Because I wished him either to live, or to die, "with honour." Which we cannot but prefer; for he, who has regard enough for a man to wish him to live with honour, cannot be so envious as to wish him to die with dishonour. At the same time we agree with Moses Du Soul, that some archness is intended in most of the answers; but what archness is there in this, as it is commonly translated, 'Because I wished him either to live honourably, or to die miserably?'

The fifth had this question proposed, "Which "do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse questions must have ab- "struse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he inquired, "What are the best means for a man to "make himself loved?" He replied, "If pos- "sessed of great power, not to make himself fear- "ed."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might "become a god?" He answered, "By doing "what it is impossible for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he; "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long "is it good for a man to live?" "As long," replied the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death "to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion, "they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgement," said Alexander, "thou "shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher; "not so, except you choose to break your word: "for you declared that the man, that answered "worst, should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages, who were of most reputation and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus informs us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him strip himself

naked[172], if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not hear me on any other condition," said he, "though you came from Jupiter himself." Dandamis behaved with more courtesy; and when Onesicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said, "They appeared to him to have been men of "genius, but to have lived with too passive a re-"gard to the laws[173]."

Others say, Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only inquired, "Why Alex-"ander had taken so long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed upon him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, exhibited to Alexander an excellent representation of his empire. He laid a dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon it's edges. This he did all round; and still as he trod on one side, it started up on the other. At last, he placed his feet upon the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to it's extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he call-

[172] From Strabo's account of those philosophers (xv.), it would appear that they were of the ascetic sect of Yogeys or Pandarams; and also that they had some idea, corrupted by tradition, of Paradise and the Fall.*

[173] In opposition to the dictates of nature, says M. Ricard, which directed them forsooth to live more simply, and to go naked.*

ed Scilloustis[174], but others call it Psiltoucis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought heaven, "That no man might ever pass "beyond the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral and Onesicritus pilot of the royal galley, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, bad diet, and excessive heats destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist upon except a few scraggy sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea, and were consequently extremely lean, and very ill-flavoured.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, at the end of which he arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for, beside that the land is in itself fertile, the neighbouring princes and grandees sent him supplies. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmania for seven days in a kind of bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn

[174] Arrian vii. calls it 'Cilluta.' Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which caused them not a little surprise.

by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but instead of them, cups, flaggons, and goblets[175]. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other; some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed by a very immodest figure[176], and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia[177], he again gave his army time to refresh themselves, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the chorusses disputed the prize of dancing, he appear-

[175] Θηριακίοις. See the Life of P. Æmilius, vol. ii., p. 357, not. (95)*

[176] M. le Fevre (in his notes upon Anacreon) seems to have restored the genuine reading of this passage, by proposing to read, instead of ταις φιαλαις, ὁ Φαλης or Φαλλος.

[177] 'Gedrosia' is certainly corrupt. We should probably read 'Carmania.' Βασιλειον signifies a capital city, as well as a royal palace, because princes generally reside in their capitals. (L.)

The whole of this licentious procession is denied by Arrian vi. as totally unfounded, and indeed, considering the exhausted state of the Macedonian army, perfectly incredible. See also M. De St. Croix.*

ed inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas[178], who happened to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which at last he complied.

Nearchus joined him again at this place, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a large fleet, go round the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpose, he constructed at Thapsacus[179] a number of vessels of all kinds, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties which he had encountered in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack upon the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition that he would never return alive from the projected voyage, excited his new subjects to revolt, and stimulated his generals and governors of provinces to display their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between themselves. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedon. Intelligence of this being brought to Alexander, he said, "His mother had "chosen rightly, for the Macedonians would "never bear to be governed by a woman."

[178] This effeminate creature had previously been in equal favour with Darius. How had Alexander at this time

"Fallen from his high estate"

of moral purity! Compare p. 250.

[179] A city of Syria, near the Euphrates.*

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. In the mean time, he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanors. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites[180], he killed with his own hand by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him; he had only collected three thousand talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses; and as they did not touch it, he said, "Of "what service will all this be to me?" and immediately ordered him to be taken into custody.

His first measure upon entering Persia was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who upon their return from any excursion to their Persian dominions, used to present every woman with a piece of gold[181]. For this reason several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never returned at all, but banished himself to save his money. Having found Cyrus' tomb[182] broken open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: "O man! who-

[180] Satrap of Susiana, who upon Darius' defeat had put that province with it's capital, Susa, into Alexander's hands. (Q. Curt. 2., Arrian vii.)*

[181] This custom had been established by Cyrus, in compliment, as we learn from one of Plutarch's moral Treatises, to their courageous behaviour.*

[182] This, according to Strabo xvi. and Arrian vi., was in the country of the Pasagadæ. The latter has preserved Aristobulus' description of it, from which it would seem to have been much richer than the epitaph implies: the former imputes the sacrilege to robbers.*

soever thou art, and whencesoever thou comest (for come I know thou wilt) I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire. Envy me not the little earth, that covers my body." Alexander was much affected by these words, which placed before him in so strong a light the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a short time by the colic, desired to have his funeral-pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair[183] and threw it on the fire, and before he ascended the pile took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king; "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little while at Babylon." So saying, he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Neither did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of his country. Many years afterward, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens[184], whose sepulchre is shown to this day under the name of 'the Indian's Tomb.'

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper; and, in order to give spirit to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most, should

[183] As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims. (L.) See Hom. Il. xix. 254., Odyss. xiv. 422. An account of this Indian suicide is given by Arrian vii., Diod. Sic. xvii. 107., Ælian v. 6. He had attained the age of seventy-three years. See also references to his prediction in Cic. de Div. i. 23., and Val. Max. i. 8.*

[184] B. C. 21. This Indian was in high health at the time: his name, according to Dio. liv., was Samarus; but Strabo calls him Zarmanochegus.*

be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine[185], and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but he survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares informs us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather having set in extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He himself set them the example, by taking Darius' daughter Statira to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality. As for those Macedonians, who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials[186]. No less than nine thousand guests, it is said, sat down to table, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts: so that the whole expence amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

An officer who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himself upon this list of debtors, and produced a person who declared that he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterward discovering the fraud, he angrily

[185] About fourteen quarts. The *choüs* was $6\frac{9}{10}$ pints. (L.) Athenæus x. 10., after Chares, states that there were three prizes proposed (of sixty, thirty, and ten minæ respectively) for the first, second, and third drinkers; and that of the brutal competitors thirty-five were left dead on the spot, and five more died soon afterward in their tents!*

[186] For an account of the magnificence of these nuptials, see Ælian viii. 7. Alexander (we are told by Arrian vii.) had already, beside Roxana, married Parysatis the youngest daughter of King Ochus. From his connexion with Statira the kings of Balaxaam derived themselves in the time of Marco Polo, i. 25.*

forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him, as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart shot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. This poor wretch could not bear the disgrace, which he had now brought upon himself; his grief and despair were so immoderate, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his life. To prevent this catastrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he had left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance, and (what was of more importance) had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was highly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians, who were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for themselves. When he gave the invalids therefore their route to the sea, in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure: "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all propriety, of their services; "and he now sends them back with disgrace, and "turns them upon the hands of their country and "their parents, in a very different condition from "that in which he received them. Why does not "he dismiss us all? Why does not he reckon all "the Macedonians incapable of service, now he "has got this body of young dancers? Let him "go with them, and conquer the world."

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour,

loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last recovering their senses, they repaired to the king's tent without arms, in one thin garment only, and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up to his vengeance; desiring, that he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

Their complaints softened him, but he would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their master. On the third day, he came out to them; and, when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them more freely, and such as were disabled he sent away with magnificent presents. At the same time, he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats, and wear chaplets of flowers in the theatres; and that the children of those, who had lost their lives in his service, should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had despatched the most urgent affairs, he again employed himself in the celebration of games and other public solemnities; for which purpose three thousand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very useful to him. But, unfortunately, in the midst of this festivity, Hephæstion fell sick of a fever.

As a young man, and a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet: and seizing the opportunity of dining, when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted capon, and drank a cooler full of wine; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days afterward.

Alexander's grief upon this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities[187]. The poor physician he crucified. He forbade the flute, and all other music, in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, enjoining him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demigod[188]: after which, he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war; for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that had attained years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to Hephæstion's manes!

He intended to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb, and other monumental ornaments; and was anxious that this expence, enormous as

[187] Only of Ecbatanæ, if we may trust Ælian vii. 8., where his favourite had expired. See also Arrian vii., who contradicts much of this account of his grief, as exaggerated; though, in what regards the horses, &c. he might be desirous of imitating the Persian customs. See Life of Aristides, vol. . p. .*

[188] After which, he so far resented all appearances of grief upon Hephæstion's account, that Lucian (*De non temerè credendo calumniæ*) informs us, he was on the point of throwing Agathocles to a lion, merely for having shed a few tears as he passed by his tomb. This story however, being wholly unsupported by other writers, M. De St. Croix treats as apocryphal. The people, mentioned below, are by Arrian vii. and Diod. Sic. xvii. 3. called 'Cossëians:' but neither of those historians mentions this sanguinary and improbable massacre.*

it was, should be exceeded by the workmanship, as well as the design. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur and sublimity in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world: A statue, which should have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in it's left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in it's right[189]. Alexander did not however embrace the proposal, though he was at that time busying himself with his architects, in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing toward Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean and come up the Euphrates, declared that he had met some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter that city. But he slighted the warning, and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus governor of Babylon had been sacrificing, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the soothsayer[190]; and, as he did not deny the fact, he asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head.

[189] He built also Alexandria, and rebuilt the temple of Diana at Ephesus.*

[190] Brother of Apollodorus, as we learn from Arrian ib., and Diod. Sic. xvii. 116. The latter historian gives us a great many more presages, equally terrible!*

"A terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras, however, go with impunity; but he began to be sorry, that he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened several other ill omens, which caused him considerable disturbance. One of the largest and handsomest lions, that were kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball: at the conclusion of the sport the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence upon his throne, dressed in the royal robes, and with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would give them any answer. At last, recovering his senses, he said; "My name is Dionysius, and I am a native "of Messene. Upon a criminal process being insti- "tuted against me, I left that place, and embarked "for Babylon. There I have been kept in chains "a long time. But this day the god Serapis "appeared to me, and broke my chains; after "which he conducted me hither, and ordered me "to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here in "silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander by the advice of his soothsayers put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased; on one hand, he almost despaired of the support of heaven, and on the other he distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of whom, named Iolāus[191], was his

[191] Arrian and Curtius call him 'Iollas.' Plutarch calls him 'Iolas' below. (L.) For Alexander's suspicion of Cassander, see Val. Max. i. 7. Plutarch is rather too compendious in what follows,

cup-bearer; the other, named Cassander, had lately arrived from Macedon, and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners and a stranger to such a sight, burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterward attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers, which greatly irritated the king. "What "is this talk of thine?" said he. "Dost thou "think that men, who had suffered no injury, "would come so far to bring a false charge?" "Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an "argument that the charge is false, because they are "at a distance from those, who are able to contra-"dict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, "which are equally conclusive on either side of the "question. But be assured, if these men have had "the least injustice done them, I will make you "repent it."

This and other menaces left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years afterward, when he was king of Macedon and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with so much horror, as to have made him shiver and shake in every joint; and it was with difficulty that he recovered from the giddiness of brain, which it produced.

When Alexander had once abandoned himself to superstition, his mind was so worried by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident,

as he says nothing of any accusers of Antipater having arrived at Babylon.*

which was in any respect strange and extraordinary, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrificers, purifiers, and prognosticators; these were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion and contempt of things divine is a great evil, yet superstition is a greater. For as water gains upon low grounds[192], so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was now the case with Alexander. Upon the receipt however of some oracles concerning Hephæstion, from the god whom he commonly consulted, he dismissed his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went according to custom to refresh himself in the bath, before he retired to rest. But in the mean time Medius came, and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank the whole of that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not however seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules[193], neither did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances

[192] The text in this place is corrupt. For the sake of those readers, who have not Bryan's edition of the Greek, we give the emendation which the learned Moses du Soul proposes: ἡ δεισιδαιμονια, δικην ὑδατος αει κρος το ταπεινουμενον και ΚΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ ΡΕΟΥΣΑ, αβελτηριας και φοβω του Αλεξανδρου ΑΝΕΠΛΗΡΟΥ.

[193] Plutarch here seems to intend negativing the account given by Diod. Sic. xvii. 117., and Q. Curt. x. 4. The 'Cup of Hercules', Xylander thinks, was only a cup drank in honour of that demigod: but Athenæus xi. 5., and Cicero Verr. vi., speak expressly of cups of this name, which the former in particular represents as having two handles and being very large. In the same writer x. 9., and Ælian iii. 23., we have a detail of the excesses of Alexander's drinking-bouts.*

invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobulus informs us, that in the rage of his fever and the violence of his thirst he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a phrensy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month Dæsius[194].

But, in his own journal, the account of his sickness is as follows. "On the eighteenth of the month Dæsius, finding himself feverish, he lay in his bath-room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his bed-chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. In the evening he again bathed, and after having sacrificed to the gods ate his supper. In the night, the fever returned. On the twentieth he also bathed, and after the customary sacrifice sat in the bath-room, and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus tell the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same manner. The fever increased, and he had a very bad night. The twenty-second, the fever was violent. He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the great bath. There he talked to his generals about the vacancies in his army, and desired that they might be filled up with experienced officers. On the twenty-fourth, he was much worse. He chose, however, to be carried to assist at the sacrifice. He likewise gave orders, that the principal officers of the army should wait within the court, and the others keep watch all night without. On the twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace on the other side of the river, where he slept a little,

[194] B. C. 324. At the age of thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty-two days, of which he had reigned upward of twelve.*

but the fever did not abate; and, when his generals entered the room, he was speechless. He continued so through the whole of the following day. The Macedonians by this time, thinking that he was dead, came to the gates with loud clamours; and threatened the great officers in such a manner, that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to pass unarmed by the bed-side. On the twenty-seventh, Python and Seleucus[195] were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, and the deity ordered that they should not remove him. On the twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." These particulars are extracted, almost word for word, from his own Diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death; but six years afterward (we are told) Olympias, upon some information given her, put a number of people to death; and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have administered the draught, to be dug out of his grave. Those who say that Aristotle advised Antipater to such a horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison sent to Babylon, quote one Agnothemis as their author, who pretended to have had the story from king Antigonus. The poison, they add, was a water of a cold and deadly quality[196], which

[195] With some others, according to Arrian vii. For Olympias' sanguinary executions, mentioned below, see Diod. Sic. xix. 11.*

[196] Hence it was called 'the Stygian Water.' Nonacris was a city in Arcadia. (L.) Herod. vi. 74. A water equally deleterious was to be found in Thessaly, near Tempe, we are told by Seneca Quæst. Nat. xxv., and Plin. H. N. xii. 64. See also Q. Curt. x. 14., who apparently comprehends Thessaly under the name 'Macedon.' Some authors for an 'ass'' hoof read that of 'a horse,' or 'a mule.'

distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it, as they would do so many dew-drops, and keep it in an ass' hoof: it's extreme coldness and acrimony being such, that it makes it's way through all other kinds of vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though on account of the disputes in which the great officers were for many days engaged, the body lay in a sultry place unembalmed, it showed no sign of any such taint, but continued fresh and clear[197].

Roxana was now pregnant[198], and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having thus gotten her into her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. In this murther, Perdiccas was her accomplice. He now indeed exercised the principal power, in the name of Arrhidæus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

[197] Thirty days, according to Ælian xii. 64.: after which, on Aristander's announcing that the possession of the royal corpse would give stability to the kingdom where it was interred, Ptolemy by many stratagems got it conveyed to Alexandria (see also Diod. Sic. xix., Strabo xvii., and Q. Curt. x.); and the *conditorium* of this great conqueror, if we could admit the various arguments adduced by Dr. Clarke in his 'Tomb of Alexander,' is now in the British Museum.*

[198] Her son, called Alexander, with his half-brother Hercules (the son of Barsine) and the two mothers, were put to death by Cassander. See Justin xv. 2., Diod. Sic. xix. 105., xx. 28. Philinna, mentioned below, was of Larissa. Just. xiii. 2. Her son Arrhidæus (as the name, according to the correct Dr. Gillies, in his late work on the Interval between Alexander and Augustus, ought to be written) took the appellation of Philip, and reigned six years; at the expiration of which, Olympias got him put to death.*

Arrhidæus was the son of Philip by a courtesan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any share. For it is said, there was something amiable and great in him, when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain[199].

[199] Portraits of the same person, taken at different periods of life, though they widely differ from each other, retain a resemblance upon the whole. And so it fares, in general, with the characters of men. But to this remark Alexander seems to have been an exception; for nothing can admit of greater dissimilarity than that which at different times, and in different circumstances, entered into his disposition. He was brave and pusillanimous, merciful and cruel, modest and vain, abstemious and luxurious, rational and superstitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Neither were these changes casual, or temporary: the style of his character underwent a total revolution, and he passed from virtue to vice in a regular and progressive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteristics, which never forsook him. If there were any vice, of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

SUMMARY.

Enmity of Cæsar and Sylla. Cæsar taken by pirates, holds them in great contempt, and afterward has them crucified. His great turn for eloquence; his popularity. He pronounces a funeral panegyric upon his wife; and marries Pompeia. Places the images and trophies of Marius in the Capitol: is elected chief-pontiff. Cicero reproached for having spared him, at the time of Catiline's conspiracy. The senate, to counterbalance his power, make a monthly distribution of bread-corn to the people. Clodius gets himself introduced into Pompeia's house, at the celebration of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Cæsar divorces his wife, and Clodius is acquitted. Cæsar's conduct in Spain, of which province he had been appointed governor. He mediates between Pompey and Crassus; and by their influence obtains the consulship. Disgraceful behaviour of Cæsar and Pompey: Cæsar has Cato taken into custody, and immediately released. Summary of Cæsar's successes in Gaul. Instances of the attachment of his officers and soldiers: how he wins their affection. His temperance: first expedition into Gaul: second war against Ariovistus. He gains a complete victory over him: defeats the Belgæ: cuts in pieces the Nervii: has the government of Gaul granted him for five years: makes war upon the Usipetes and Tenchteri; ravages the country beyond the Rhine; passes over into Britain. Revolt in Gaul. He defeats Ambiorix. Vercingetorix rebels. Cæsar invests him in Alexia; and defeats a large army, which came to it's relief. Vercingetorix surrenders. Commencement of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey. Pompey elected sole consul. Cæsar applies for another consulship, and for a continuance of his commission in Gaul. Pompey's error, with regard to levying troops. Cæsar proposes to lay down his arms,

on condition that Pompey does the same; lowers his demands; sets off for Ariminum; and takes possession of it. Consternation excited in Rome. Pompey leaves that city. Different feelings of it's inhabitants. Cæsar enters it: goes into Spain: sets out in pursuit of Pompey: undertakes to cross to Brundusium in a small vessel. Distresses of his army. Pompey gains a victory, but neglects to improve it. Cæsar decamps: and Pompey is unwillingly induced to march after him. Abundance restored to Cæsar's troops. The armies in sight of each other at Pharsalia. Different presages. Arrangements of the two generals. Cæsar gains the victory. His subsequent expressions and behaviour. Prediction of Cornelius. Cæsar's tears on receiving the signet of Pompey. Cleopatra gets herself carried to Cæsar, as a bale of goods: he places her on the throne of Egypt. Rapidity of his Asiatic victories. Insolence of Antony, and his other friends. He passes over into Africa: His distress for provisions. In one day he defeats three generals, and takes their three camps. His motive for composing the 'Anti-Cato.' Census, proving the immense depopulation occasioned by the civil wars. Cæsar defeats Pompey's sons in Spain: is appointed perpetual dictator. His irreproachable conduct. He projects new conquests, and other great undertakings; reforms the calendar: incurs general odium by his passion for the title of king. Antony offers him a diadem, which he refuses. Commencement of the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius: Presages ominous of his death. He goes to the senate, notwithstanding various warnings: is first wounded by Casca, then slain by the rest of the conspirators. Brutus and Cassius address the people. Popular fury against the murtherers. Death of Cassius; and of Brutus.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome[1], he endeavoured to make Cæsar repudiate Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, one of the late

[1] Some imagine, that the beginning of this Life is lost; but, if they re-peruse the Introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vanish. (L.) Plutarch indeed, hastening to more important matters, neglects giving any account of his youth (which was distinguished by nothing very memorable) as Suetonius, and V. Pater. ii. 41., have also done in their respective compositions.*

tyrants; and finding he could not effect it, either by hopes or fears[2], he confiscated her dowry. Cæsar, indeed, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt; and therefore young Marius, his son by that marriage, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions which engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not so content, offered himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood[3], though he had not yet attained to years of maturity. Sylla, however, exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried. The dictator afterward thought of having him taken off; and when some of his friends remarked that there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered, "Their sagacity was small, "if they did not in that boy see many Mariuses."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he for a long time concealed himself, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and upon that account was obliged to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one

[2] Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as Piso had done, who divorced his wife Annia at his command. Pompey likewise, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, divorced Antistia.

[3] Cæsar had the priesthood, before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cossutia (though she was of a consular and opulent family) and married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest and that of Marius he was created *Flamen Dialis*, or Priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted upon his divorcing Cornelia, and on his refusal deprived him of that office. (SUET. in Jul., and V. Pater. ii. 43.)

night fell in with him; but Cornelius[4], who commanded them, was prevailed upon by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he craved protection from Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-imbarked, and was taken near the isle of Pharmacusa by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing whom they had in their possession, and promised them fifty. To raise the money, he despatched his attendants to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only a single friend[5] and two footmen among these Cilicians, who considered murther as a trifle. Cæsar however held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. He lived thus among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates; and, when they express-

[4] Phagita, a freedman of Sylla. This exaction Cæsar, upon his attaining sovereign power, could never persuade himself to resent. (Suet. 74.)

The isle, or rather isles, of Pharmacusa (for, according to Steph. Byzant., there were two of that name) which are mentioned below, were near Salamis.*

[5] 'A physician,' says Suet. 5., which Casaubon well defends; though many critics for *medicus* would read *amicus*, as the Roman physicians were not elevated to the rank or society of gentlemen till the ensuing generation, when Augustus was cured of a dangerous illness by Antonius Musa. The ransom, we learn from V. Paterc. ii. 42., was advanced by the cities of Asia out of the public purse.*

ed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of that city[6], in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor off the island, took most of them together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him as prætor it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar perceiving his intention returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners himself, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they supposed him to be only in jest.

When Sylla's power began to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But he first went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius the son of Molo[7], who taught rhe-

[6] Dacier reads 'Melos,' which was one of the Cyclades, but he does not quote his authority.

[7] It should be 'Apollonius Molo,' not 'Apollonius the son of Molo.' According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before this adventure of the pirates. In the Life of Cicero, Plutarch falls into the same mistake. Thus far Dacier; and Ruauld and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (xiv.) informs us, Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda a city of Caria, that they were both scholars of Menacles the Alabandian, and that they both professed the same art at Rhodes; though Molo went thither later than Apollonius, who upon that account applied to him the phrase of Homer, Οψε μολων. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, especially in his *De Oratore* (i.), where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: "For this one thing, I

toric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero, likewise, was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want ambition to cultivate them, so that he was undoubtedly the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never reached that pitch of eloquence, to which his powers would have raised him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues, which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterward in his 'Anti-cato,' which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers, "Not to expect in the performance of a military man the style of a complete orator, who had bestowed the whole of his time upon such studies."

On his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece by their evidence supported the charge. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæsar however, in acknowledgement of the readiness which Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedon: and Cæsar pleaded it in so powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people;

"always liked Apollonius the Alabandian: though he taught for "money, he did not suffer any, whom he thought incapable "of making a figure as orators, to lose their time and labour with "him; but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves "to that art, for which they were in his opinion the best qualified." To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose with Ruauld, that there were two Molos, contemporaries; for the testimonies of Suetonius (Jul. iv.) and of Quintilian (xii. 6.), that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be over-ruled.

alleging, that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence, which he displayed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a degree of condescension, not to be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the liberality of his table and the magnificence of his expence gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him imagined, that his resources would soon fail, and therefore at first made light of his growing popularity. But when it had sprung up to such a height that it was scarcely possible to destroy it, and plainly tended to the ruin of the constitution, they discovered too late, that no beginnings of things however small are to be neglected; because continuance makes them great, and the very contempt, in which they are held, enables them to gain irresistible sway.

Cicero seems to have been the first, who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and under the smiles of his benignity detected his pernicious intentions. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny, in all that he projects and executes; but, on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger[8], I can hardly

[8] This, as before observed in the Life of Pompey, (see vol. iv. p. 129. not. (64) was the established mark of an unmanly character. Hence the epigrammatist;

——— *qui digito caput uno*
Scalpit, quid credis hunc sibi velle? Virum.

And the satirist;

Qui digito scalpunt ano caput.

"believe that such a man can conceive so vast and "fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman "commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that, of which we are now writing.

The first proof, which he had of the affection of the people, was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The second, however, was more remarkable: It was on his pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue. At the same time he had the hardiness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration, Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this, some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage in having brought back Marius' honours after so long a suppression, and raised them as it were from the shades below.

It had been the custom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics[9], but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one upon his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of his countrymen: They sympathised with him, and considered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the social duties deeply at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain with[10] Antistius Vetus the

[9] Ever since their generous contribution to the sum stipulated with the Gauls for the ransom of that city, A. C. 360. See Life of Camillus, vol. i.*

[10] See Vell. Paterc. ii. 43.

prætor, whom he honoured all his life afterward; and, when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by selecting Vetus' son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia[11] to his third wife; having had a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterward gave in marriage to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought that he was purchasing a short and transient honour very dearly; when, in fact, he was gaining the chief objects of his ambition at a small price. He is said to have been thirteen hundred talents in debt, before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road, he laid out considerable sums of his own money; and, when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators[12], but in the other diversions also of the theatre, in the processions and public entertainments, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly, that every one sought for new honours and offices, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest, and that of Marius, which was in a low and broken condition. Cæsar's study was, to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of this intention, when the exhibitions which he gave as ædile were in their highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Next morning, these figures were seen glistering with gold, of the most exquisite

[11] Daughter of Q. Pompey, and grand-daughter of Sylla.*

[12] And these (as Suetonius informs us) were fewer, through the envy of his enemies, than he had originally intended.*

workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man, who had erected them; neither was it difficult to know, who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours, which the laws and decrees of the state had condemned to oblivion. This, they said, was done to try the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses; whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them, and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partisans of Marius encouraging each other ran to the capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy, at the sight of Marius' countenance. They bestowed the loudest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared that he was the only relation worthy of that eminent man.

The senate was assembled upon the occasion; and Lutatius Catulus, a person of the highest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him, was this memorable expression; "You no longer attack the commonwealth "by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar however defended his cause so well, that the senate decided in his favour: and his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, as he might gain every thing with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions died Metellus, the chief pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious

men in the city, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Nevertheless, Cæsar did not shrink from the contest, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed nearly equal; and Catulus, who on account of his superior dignity was most uneasy about the event, sent privately to Cæsar and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, "He would rather borrow still larger sums, "to enable him to stand the struggle."

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her, and said; "My dear mother, "you will see me this day either chief-pontiff, or "an exile." There never was any thing more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it to Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were deeply alarmed at this success, apprehending that he would now urge the people into all kinds of licentiousness and misrule. Piso and Catulus therefore blamed Cicero exceedingly for having spared Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity of taking him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus, to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them or not, is uncertain; but what is universally admitted, is this: The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero as consul took the sense of the senators with regard to their punishment; and they all gave it for death,

till it came to Cæsar's turn, who in a studied speech represented, "That it seemed neither agreea-
"ble to justice nor to the customs of their coun-
"try, to put men of their birth and dignity to
"death, except in case of extreme necessity,
"without an open trial. But that they should
"rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of
"Italy which Cicero might select, till Catiline was
"subdued; and that then the senate might take
"cognisance of the crimes of each conspirator
"in full peace, and at their leisure."

As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterward, and even many who had previously declared for the other side of the question, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him[13]; and this with other arguments had so much weight, that the two conspirators were consigned to the hands of the executioner. Nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate-house, several of the young men who guarded Cicero's person ran upon him with their drawn swords, but Curio (we are told) covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought such an assassination unlawful and unjust. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was subsequently blamed however for not having availed himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for having been influenced by his fears of the people,

[13] Those speeches, and the whole of the proceedings upon the occasion, are beautifully detailed by Salluſt, in his Catilinarian war.

who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar: For a few days afterward, when Cæsar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself from the suspicions entertained of him, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed in safety.

Cato therefore apprehending an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were the very tinder of all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five millions five hundred thousand drachmas to the yearly expence of the state[14]. This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and had on that account become still more formidable.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but in the course of it there occurred a disagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it. But the women's apartment was so narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia so closely watched by Aurelia Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of consummate virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses whom the Romans wor-

[14] But this distribution did not continue long.

ship, there is one called Bona Dea, 'the Good Goddess,' as the Greeks have one whom they call Gynæcea, 'the Patroness of the Women.' The Phrygians claim her, as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans say, she was a Dryad, and the wife of Faunus; and the Greeks assure us, she is the mother of Bacchus with the unutterable name[15]. For this reason the women, when they observe her festival, cover their tents with vine-branches; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, or even to be in the house, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies, which the women then perform by themselves, are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

When the anniversary of the festival comes, the consul or prætor (for it is kept at the house of one of them) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife, now having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner: the mysteries are performed in the night; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia was, this year, the directress of the feast. Clodius, who was yet a beardless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered, and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, and was

[15] This name, however, according to Cicero (who, in his Oration *de Haruspicum responsis*, dilates upon the subject of these mysteries) was revealed to the women. Whence Dacier deduces a high compliment to the secrecy of the Roman ladies, and by implication passes a sneer upon that of his own countrywomen. But it is not for us to quarrel with the Frenchman, for his want of courtesy to the sex, when we have ourselves a popular comedy, with the ungallant and obnoxious title of

"'The Wonder,' or 'a Woman keeps a Secret!'"

safely introduced by a maid-servant, who was privy to the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as she stayed a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she had left him, but wandered about the immense house endeavouring to avoid the lights. At last, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and supposing she spoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him "Who he was, and whence he came?" He said, "He was waiting for Abra, Pompeia's maid;" for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out that "she had found "a man in the house." The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment. Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covered up the symbols of their mysterious worship. She ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. He was at length discovered lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which, they immediately went home, though it was still night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning, the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread throughout Rome; and nothing was talked of, but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family which he had offended, as well as to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal senators strengthened the charge, by accusing him to his face of many villainous debaucheries, and (among the rest) of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves

with equal vigour in his defence; and the great influence, which the fear of them had upon his judges, was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence upon the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange; the accuser demanded "Why, if that "was the case, he had divorced his wife?" "Be- "cause," said he, "I would have the chastity "of my wife free even from suspicion." Some say, Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were bent upon saving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius was acquitted, most of the judges having confounded[16] the letters upon the

[16] Here it is, συγχεχυμενας τοις πραγμασι τας γνωμας. M. Dacier would from this correct the passage in the Life of Cicero, τας δελτους συγχεχυμενας τοις γραμμασι. He translates it, *la plûpart des juges ayant donné leurs avis sur plusieurs affaires en même tems:* 'the greatest part of the judges comprehending other causes along with this in their sentence.' But that could not be the case; for this manner of passing sentence, or rather of passing bills, was forbidden by the Lex Cæcilia et Didia. Besides, it would not have answered the purpose: their sentence would have been equally known. We therefore rather choose to correct this passage by that in the Life of Cicero. (See Barton *in loc.*)

After the pleadings were finished, the prætor gave each of the judges three tablets; one marked with the letter *A*, which acquitted; another with the letter *C*, which condemned; and a third with *N. L.* (*Non Liquet*) 'the case is not clear.' Each judge put into an urn which tablet he pleased; and as they withdrew to consult before they did it, it was easy to deface or obscure any letters upon the tablets, because they were only written in wax.

Still this objection occurs, Would the prætor who was to count them, and pass sentence according to the majority, admit of tablets with letters so defaced or obscured? A corrupt one indeed might, and might also interpret them as he chose. But as Plutarch does not say 'obscured,' but 'confused,' possibly he

tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians by condemning, nor lose their credit with the patricians by acquitting him.

The government of Spain[17] was allotted to Cæsar, after his prætorship. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus therefore took upon him to satisfy the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents, which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town in passing the Alps, his friends by way of mirth took occasion to say, "Can there here be any "disputes for offices, any contentions for pre-"cedency, or any such envy as we observe among "the great?" Upon which Cæsar asserted with the utmost seriousness, "I assure you, I had "rather be the first man here, than the second "man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure-hours on reading part of the history of Alexander; and was so

only meant that the judges, instead of putting tablets all marked with the same letter, put in several of each kind, in order to prevent the displeasure of the senate or the people from fixing upon any of them in particular.

[17] It was the government of the Farther Spain only, as we learn from Suetonius, 18. that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica, i. e. Portugal and Andalusia. Casaubon supposed the word ἐκτὸς to have slipped out of the text, between τῶν and Ἱσπανιῶν; but it is a matter of little importance.

much affected by it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said; "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for "concern, when Alexander at my age reigned "over so many conquered countries, and I have "not a single proud achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was, that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to business with diligence; and having added ten newly-raised cohorts to the twenty which he found there, he marched against the Callæcians[18] and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had never felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in war; he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remainder, till the loan was discharged. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who upon one of his victories saluted him 'Imperator.'

Upon his return, he found himself under a troublesome dilemma: Those who solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls,[19] and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things which he could not reconcile, and his arrival

[18] In the text Καλλαϊκοὺς. Cruserius renders it, 'Gallæcos;' but, according to Cellarius, he is under a mistake.

[19] To prevent the violences of military interference, which would otherwise have frequently enforced the object of the victorious general's petition, without leaving the citizens an option upon the occasion.

happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate though absent, and to offer himself to the people through his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law; and when he saw numbers yielding to Cæsar's influence he attempted by gaining time to prevent his success; with which view he spun out the debate, till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day. Cæsar then determined to resign the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work in an underhand way, upon a measure which deceived every body except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured to himself the interest of both; and, while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, was actually undermining the constitution. For it was not (as most people imagine) the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey, that produced the civil wars, but rather their union: they first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and when that was effected, they separated to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was at that time looked upon as a troublesome and meddling fellow; but he was afterward considered as a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

In the mean time, Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus appointed for his collegue. He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws less suitable to a consul, than

a seditious tribune; I mean, the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext which he had long desired: He protested with great warmth, "That they threw him into the "arms of the people against his will, and that "the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the "senate laid him under the disagreeable necessity "of seeking protection from the commons." To them, accordingly, he immediately applied.

Having placed Crassus on one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he demanded of them aloud, "Whether they approved his laws or not?" and as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those, who threatened to oppose them with the sword. This they promised; and Pompey added, "Against those, who come with "the sword, I will bring both sword and buck-"ler:" an expression, which gave the patricians great pain, as it appeared not only unworthy of the respect, entertained for him by the senate, and the reverence due to that body, but even desperate and childish. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but notwithstanding that engagement he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand indeed was not properly at liberty, as she had been promised to Faustus the son of Sylla. Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these pro-

ceedings, and called both gods and men to witness the intolerable abuse of prostituting by marriage the first dignities of the state, and through this traffic of women mutually bartering the command of provinces and of armies.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's collegue, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his own life as well as that of Cato was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the Forum with armed men, and got the laws enacted, which Cæsar had proposed merely in order to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side of the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato remonstrated against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining that he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking a single word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people out of reverence for his virtue followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the lictor's hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar, upon this occasion, to the house. The chief part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had seceded. Considius, one of the oldest that attended, remarking "That it was the soldiers and "naked swords, which kept the rest from assem-"bling;" Cæsar asked, "Why does not fear "keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence; the very small re-

" mains of my life do not deserve much precau-
" tion."

The most disgraceful step however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was his getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same, who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and who had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him, in order to ruin Cicero; neither would he set out for his government, before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars which he subsequently waged, and the glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man: We begin as it were with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and general, we behold him in no respect inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders that the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and the Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or with those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, with Marius, with the two Luculli, or even with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries subdued: this, in the number and strength of the enemies conquered, that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people humanised: one in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all, in the number of battles won, and of enemies destroyed. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul, he took eight hundred

cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of whom he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such moreover was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances:

Acilius in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right-hand cut off with a sword; yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had had an eye shot out by an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh transfixed by another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield[20], called out to the enemy, as if he wished to surrender himself. Upon this two of them coming up to him, he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropped off; the

[20] Cæsar (B. C. iii. 53.) says, this brave soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his shield; and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, beside other military rewards (L.) To both these authorities D. Vossius prefers those of Suetonius and Celsus, who say he received only 'a hundred and twenty!'

The private soldier, in the next story, was the same Cassius, then in the ranks; for Plutarch has, in these two narratives, inverted the order of the events. (See Val. Max. III. ii. 23.)*

other he wounded in the face, and compelled to retire. His comrades then advanced to his assistance, and he saved his life.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy; upon which a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and after prodigious exertions of valour beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After this he with much difficulty, partly by swimming and partly by wading, recrossed the morass, but in the passage dropped his shield from his arm. Cæsar and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier in great distress threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and with tears in his eyes begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "He gave him "quarter." Petronius answered, "It is not the "custom of Cæsar's soldiers to receive, but to "give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword into his own breast.

This generous and lofty ambition was cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the noble manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them. For his whole conduct showed, that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, with a view to minister to any luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own; but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich, than as he was in a condition to

do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing, which contributed to make them invincible, was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory; but they were astonished at his patience under fatigue, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair complexion, and delicate constitution, and subject to violent head-achs and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling-sickness at Corduba.[21] He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. On the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, and by simple diet, and seldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against it's attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant by his side, whom he employed upon such occasions to write for him, and with a soldier behind who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out thither from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he

[21] *Hod.* Cordova, a city in Andalusia upon the Guadalquivir.*

also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or according to Oppius for more. It is also said, that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, though both parties were in Rome, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or the great extent of the city did not admit an interview.[22]

Of his indifference with respect to diet, we have the following remarkable proof: Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, sweet ointment had been poured upon the asparagus instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely notwithstanding, and afterward rebuked his friends for having expressed their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, to forbear eating, if "it was disagreeable to you. He, who finds fault "with any rusticity, is himself a rustic."

One day, as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that scarcely big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning therefore to his friends, he said, "Honours "for the great, and necessaries for the infirm;" and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while he himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetii and the Tigurini; who after having burned twelve of their own towns and four hun-

[22] Here we discover the rudiments of the Twopenny post. But this surely was no great discovery, even if we can suppose that till Cæsar's time it was unknown. Suston. 56, in a more probable story, informs us that his invention was a mode of cypher, in which *D.* was written for *A.*, *E.* for *B*, &c. But at this, too, our modern diplomatists will smile.*

dred villages, had begun their march[23], with a view of penetrating into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Neither were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage, and in numbers they were equal; being in all three hundred thousand, of whom a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent against the Tigurini, his lieutenant Labienus[24], who routed them near the river Arar. But the Helvetii suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he himself was upon the march to a confederate town[25]. He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and, when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him. Upon which he said, "When I have won the battle, I shall want my "horse for the pursuit; at present let us march "as we are, against the enemy." Accordingly, he charged them with vigour on foot[26].

It cost him a long and severe conflict, to drive their army out of the field: but he found the greatest difficulty, when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and

[23] The Helvetii, who had left their native country upon this expedition, amounted (according to their own registers) to 368,000, including 92,000 fighting men. The Tigurini inhabited the canton of Zurich.*

[24] Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works, which he had raised from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Jura; and marched in person, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar (*Hod.* La Saone) where he killed great numbers of them.

[25] Bibracte, *hod.* Autun.

[26] He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops, that he would take his share in all the danger. (B. G. i. 25.)

children fought till they were cut in pieces, so that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action, he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of a hundred thousand and upward, and obliged them to re-settle the country which they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities which they had burned. This he did from the apprehension that, if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls[27] against the Germans, though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome. But they proved insupportable neighbours to those, whom he had subdued; and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over the whole of Gaul[28]. He found however his officers, particularly the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in hopes of living luxuriously, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them before the whole army, "That they were at liberty to

[27] Those called the Celtæ.*

[28] The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans; who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons sur la Saone, and Nevers; the Arverni of Auvergne, particularly, of Clermont and St. Flour; and the Sequani of Franche-Comte, &c.

For an illustration of the whole passage, see Divitiacus' speech to Cæsar (B.G. i. 31.)

" withdraw, and were not required to hazard " their persons against their inclination, since " they were so unmanly and spiritless. For " his part, he would march with the tenth le- " gion only against those barbarians; for neither " were they better men than the Cimbri, nor " was he a worse general than Marius." Upon this, the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions threw the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had supposed that they would not dare to withstand the Germans, when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised therefore at this bold attempt of Cæsar, and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining[29], and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings and murmurs or other noises made by the stream. Upon this occasion, they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having gained information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time.

[29] For ἱερων γυναικων De Thou would read ἀιων, justifying his conjecture, by Dion's αἱ γυναικες αυτων Βαϱϐαϱων, and by Cæsar's *Matres familias eorum*. (B. G. i.50.) Of these women, however, as held "holy" among the Germans, we have mention in Tacitus. Hist. iv. 61, De Mor. Germ. 8. See also Strabo vii., and Pomp. Mela iii. 6.*

He therefore attacked their entrenchments, and the hills upon which they were posted; which provoked them to such a degree, that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle[30], covering all the way with carcases and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river, in time to cross it with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Cisalpine Gaul, which was part of his province, in order to attend the better to transactions passing in Rome. For the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. During his stay there, he carried on a variety of state-intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was alternately conquering his enemies by the arms of the citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, the most powerful people in Gaul, whose ter-

[30] Cæsar (ib. 53.) says, it was only five miles from the field of battle; instead of τριακοσιους, therefore we should read τεσσαρακοντα, or Plutarch might erroneously have written τρακοντα. Hotomannus however, in his note upon this passage in Cæsar, corrects the Roman by the Grecian writer, in spite of all the MSS., and reads 'fifty miles;' not scrupling to enhance the wonder, in order to effect a complete coincidence, by reading in Plutarch 'four hundred furlongs!'*

ritories occupied a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a large army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were the allies of Rome, defeated the main body which made but a feeble resistance, and slew such numbers that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents, as dwelt upon the sea-coast, surrendered without opposition.

Thence he led his army against the Nervii[31], who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods in the heart of a large forest, full of under-wood, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched to the number of sixty thousand and fell upon Cæsar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least apprehension of so sudden an attack[32]. They first routed his cavalry, and then

[31] *Hod.* the people of Hainault and Cambresis.

[32] As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had almost every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, &c. &c. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and, having marshalled them in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but, as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place, the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermanduï. But, in the right wing, the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon

surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. And had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion[33], seeing his danger, run from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not a single Roman would have survived the battle. But though, encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. These brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of sixty thousand not above five hundred were saved, and out of four hundred Nervian senators not more than three.

Upon the news of this signal victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all kinds of festivities continued for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. The danger, indeed, appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and, as Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, his popularity made the rejoicing more brilliant.

After he had settled the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul he re-crossed the Alps, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interests in Rome; where the candidates for the high offices of state were furnished with money out of his funds to corrupt

the Nervii already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a most dreadful havock. (See B. G. ii. 20—27.)

[33] In the original, it is 'the twelfth;' but it appears from Cæsar himself (ib. 26.) confirmed by the Paris MS. of Plutarch, that we should read here δεκατον, not δωδεκατον.

the people, and after they had carried their election, exerted themselves to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius governor of Sardinia, and Nepos proconsul in Spain. So that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their masters, and above two hundred senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had arranged their plan, they separated. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the ensuing year, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. The last particular appeared extremely absurd to all men of sense. They, who received so much of Cæsar's money, persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he were in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man sighed inwardly, while he suffered the decree to pass. Cato indeed was at this time absent, having been sent with a commission to Cyprus, on purpose that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's steps, vigorously opposed those measures; and when he found his opposition unavailing left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; some being over-awed by Pompey and Crassus, and other influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whom alone they lived, and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, on returning to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipetes and the Tenchteri[34], two great German

[34] *Hod.* the people of Westphalia, and those of Munster and Cleves.

nations, having crossed the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall extract from his own Commentaries.[35] These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted. Nevertheless, they attacked him, as he was making an excursion. With only eight hundred horse however, and those unprepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day, they sent other deputies to apologise for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of again deceiving him. These agents he detained, and immediately marched against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius[36] informs us that, when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, in order to expiate that breach

This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, A. U. C. 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. the reduction of the Atuatici by Cæsar; of seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir; offers of submission from several nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter-quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitaine. These particulars, at several of which he was himself personally present (and which should therefore have been at least alluded to by Plutarch, had it but been in order to preserve the continuity of his biography) are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the war in Gaul.

[35] Ruauld justly observes, that Plutarch should not have called the Commentaries ἐφημερίδες, but ὑπομνήματα, as usual. His Ephemerides were his Diary, in which he recorded little daily occurrences, and are now unfortunately lost.

[36] Canusius Geminus, a great friend of Cicero, wrote a History and some Annals. See Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 12.*

of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon it's author rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians, that had passed the Rhine, there were four hundred thousand killed. The few who escaped repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri.[37] Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was a wish to be recorded as the first Roman, who had ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it; though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, an immense bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri (the most warlike nations in Germany) having retired into the depths of their forests, and concealed themselves in caverns overhung with wood. Having therefore laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better-disposed Germans in the interest of Rome,[38] he returned into Gaul, after spending not more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried

[37] These inhabited the southern part of Westphalia, &c.*
[38] The Ubii, *hod.* the people of Cologne. (Cæs. B. G. iv. 19.)

war into an island, of which the very existence was previously a matter of doubt. Some writers had represented it as so incredibly large, that others disputed it's being, and considered both the name and the thing itself as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness[39]. He did not, however, terminate the war as he could have wished; he only received hostages from the king, and appointed the tribute which the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he found letters, which were about to be despatched after him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in child-bed. This was a great affliction, both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends also were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved, which had maintained the peace and harmony of the

[39] It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain, in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt*, (ib. v. 14.) (L.) It is amusing to an Englishman to read such passages as these, amidst the opulence and comforts flowing from modern improvements in the agriculture, and the extraordinary extensions of the commerce of his native island—not to mention that proud spirit of patriotism which sets invasion at defiance, and those pure flowers of protestantism, which were sublimed out of the defiled crucible of the Romish church! What is Plutarch's Chæronea? What is Cæsar's Rome herself, compared with "still-increasing London,"

——— by taste and wealth proclaim'd
The fairest capital of all the world? (Cowper's Task, I.)

state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition: for the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the corpse of Julia, and carried it notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes to the Campus Martius, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large[40], he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which, according to custom, he took the road to Italy. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls again rising traversed the country with considerable armies, fell furiously upon the Roman quarters, and insulted their entrenchments. The strongest and most numerous body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with sixty thousand men; and though the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength[41], they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, having at last received intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and collecting a body of men, which did not exceed seven thousand,

[40] This army consisted of eight legions; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence. He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us (v. 24.) that all the legions except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of a hundred miles.

[41] Of this Cæsar (B. G. v. 44.) has preserved a striking instance, in the beautiful episode of the centurions Pulsio and Varenus.*

hastened to Cicero's relief. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the inferiority of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, in order to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a large one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner; contriving, by all these manœuvres, to increase the enemy's contempt of him. The plan succeeded according to his wishes. The Gauls came up with the utmost insolence and disorder, to attack his trenches; upon which Cæsar, making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success quieted the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for farther security he spent the whole winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion toward war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions, in the room of those whom he had lost; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this[42] the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of the country by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed

[42] Plutarch skips over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæsar's second passage across the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses occupied. It was then, likewise, the most severe season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds; the roads themselves were either buried in snow, or rendered doubtful through floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the Arverni, and the Carnutes[49]. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death for having aspired to monarchy. Vercingetorix dividing his forces into several parts, and giving them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise the whole of Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome. But had he waited a little longer, till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the Gauls would then have appeared not less formidable to Italy, than the Cimbri had formerly done.

Cæsar who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner apprised of this immense defection, than he set out to chastise it's authors; and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians, that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted. For where a courier could scarcely have been supposed to arrive in many days,

[49] *Hod.* the people of Chartres and Orleans, &c.

Cæsar was seen with his whole army ravaging the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Ædui also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their defection spread uneasiness and dismay throughout Cæsar's army. He therefore decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones[44], in order to come into that of the Sequani, who were his firm friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

Thither the enemy followed him in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict; and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were eminently serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat[45]. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterward, but he only laughed; and when they wished to have it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those, who escaped out of the battle, retired into Alesia[46] with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of it's defenders.

[44] *Hod.* the district of Langres.

[45] This passage in the original is corrupt, or defective. We have endeavoured to supply it by reading, with M. Dacier, Γερμανοις, instead of αλλοις; which is agreeable to Cæsar's own account of the battle (B. G. vii. 67.)

[46] Cæsar calls it Alexia, *hod.* Alise near Flavigny.

During the siege, he found himself exposed to an inconceivable danger from without. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, to the number of three hundred thousand, and came armed to the relief of the place; and there were not fewer than seventy thousand combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without, against the troops that were come to it's succour; for, could the two armies have effected a junction, he had been inevitably lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed on many accounts to Cæsar's renown. He exerted indeed a more adventurous courage and greater generalship upon this, than upon any other occasion. But what seems astonishing is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and yet keep the action secret from those within the town[47]. It is a still more wonderful circumstance, that the troops left before the walls should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking-vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom or a dream, the chief part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, accoutred himself and his horse in the most magnificent

[47] Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle, neither can it indeed well be conceived, that they had not.

manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet; where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and reserve him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been for some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do in order to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey in order to prevent it, but to destroy the object of his apprehension. Pompey, it is true, had not long entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining that he could as easily pull him down, as he had set him up; Whereas Cæsar from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance like a champion for exercise. By continued service and eminent achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and with it his own reputation, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the mis-government at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself: and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted, that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came, not only to give their votes for the man who had bought them, but with all kinds of offensive weapons to fight in his behalf. Hence it frequently happened, that they did not separate before they had polluted the tribunal

with blood and murther, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who did not scruple openly to assert, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that he ought to be selected as the physician, (hinting at Pompey) who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand.

Pompey uniformly in conversation pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time all his measures were directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. To this, the senate not only agreed, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies on foot, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a-year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied through his friends for another consulship, and for a similar continuance of his commission in Gaul. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence; omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus (at that time consul) caused one of their senators, who had come with some complaints to

Rome, to be beaten with rods; and telling him, that the marks on his back were so many additional proofs that he was not a Roman citizen, bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But after Marcellus' consulship, Cæsar opened the treasures which he had amassed in Gaul to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he discharged the enormous debts of Curio the tribune; and presented the consul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the Forum, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood. Pompey now, alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest and that of his friends, to procure an order for superseding Cæsar in the province of Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops, which he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity to each man of two hundred and fifty drachmas.

The officers of those troops, on their return, spread reports among the people, which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey by the vain hopes they inspired. For they asserted, that he had the hearts of all Cæsar's army; and that if envy and a corrupt administration prevented him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy; so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions which he had excited of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances, that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy

only with speeches and decrees, of which Cæsar made no account. Nay, we are told that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate refused to give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword and said, "But this shall give it."

Cæsar's requisitions, indeed, had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition that Pompey did the same, and that they should both as private citizens leave it to their country to remunerate their services. For to deprive him of his commission and troops, and to continue those of Pompey, was to grant absolute power to the one, at the expence of the character of the other. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in Cæsar's behalf, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some, who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and notwithstanding the opposition of the consuls[48], caused it to be read aloud. Upon this Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms before such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "That Pompey "should disband his forces:" and again, "That "Cæsar should disband his:" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second[49]. After which Antony put the question,

[48] Instead of δια των ὑπατων, some MSS. give us βια, των ὑπατων.

[49] Dio, (xli. 4.) says, there was not a man for the first ques-

"Whether, or not, both should lay down their "commissions?" and all, with one voice, answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamors of the consul Lentulus, who cried out that "Not decrees but arms should "be employed against a public robber," caused the senate to break up; and upon account of this unhappy dissension all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with still more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all, but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only[50]. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise; but Lentulus the consul, disdainfully rejecting it, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. He thus furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, of which he did not fail to make use, in order to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction and magistrates obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves[51]; for

tion, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cælius and Curio. Nor is this a fair subject of surprise: Pompey and his army were then at the gates of Rome.

[50] Or a single legion.*

[51] Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise,

their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not with him, at that time, above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack which he then meditated, did not require any very considerable numbers: His enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition, with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them at that precise moment, than great preparations afterward. He therefore ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords without any other armour, and to make themselves masters of Ariminum, a large city in Gaul, but to do it if possible without bloodshed or disturbance. Hortensius was at the head of this party. He himself spent the day at a public show of gladiators, and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the room where he was entertaining some company. When it grew dark, he left the party, after having desired them to make merry till his return, for which they should not have long to wait. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not all together, but various ways; after which taking a hired carriage, he set out a different road from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into it afterward.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the magnitude of his attempt, he stopped, to

weigh with himself it's inconveniences; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities, which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried out, "Let the die be cast!" and immediately crossed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream; he thought, he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide it's gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar by going beyond the bounds of his province had infringed the laws of his country; people were seen, not individually (as upon other occasions) wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up and seeking refuge by flight. Of this tumultuous tide the greatest part flowed into Rome, which was so filled with the hasty conflux of the surrounding population, that amidst the violent tossing and eddies it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by it's own violence. For the whole was a prey to contrary passions, and the most violent convulsions: Those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of

what was to come; the necessary consequence of such troubles in so immense a city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the strange turn of affairs, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he suffered justly, for having exalted Cæsar against himself and his country; others, for having permitted Lentulus to over-rule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him, "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech of his in the senate, in which he bade them "take no thought about prepara-" tions for the war; for, as soon as he marched out " of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he " should fill Italy with his legions."

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to act upon his own judgment. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was already at the gates and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He procured it to be decreed therefore that things were in an insurrectionary state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities, and then left Rome; having first ordered the senate to follow, and every man who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls likewise fled with him, without having offered the customary sacrifices before their departure. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole were not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who were previously well-affected to Cæsar, that in the present alarm changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle, at that

time, was the city! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by it's pilots, and tossed about at the mercy of the winds and waves! But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love which the Romans bore to Pompey, that they considered his place of refuge as their country, and fled from Rome as Cæsar's camp. For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who had served under him as his lieutenant with the utmost alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheless, Cæsar sent after him his money and his equipage.

Cæsar next invested Corfinium[52], where Domitius with thirty cohorts commanded for Pompey. Domitius[53] in despair ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as the sure means of death; but, soon afterward hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the precipitancy of his resolution. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drank was only a sleeping potion, and not in the least deleterious. This gave him such spirits, that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted and again repaired to Pompey.

The news of this transaction reaching Rome considerably relieved the minds of the people, and many of the fugitives returned. In the mean time Cæsar having added to his own army the

[52] *Hod.* San-ferino, in Abruzzo.*

[53] Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium, before he left Italy.

troops of Domitius, and all the rest that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundusium, whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little afterward upon Cæsar's approach, as we have related at large in his Life, sailed thither himself. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, having reduced Italy in sixty days, without spilling a single drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey with an offer of honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission: Whether it was, that they were afraid of Pompey whom they had deserted, or thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said; "Arms and laws do not flourish "together. If you are not pleased at what I "am about, you have only to withdraw: war, "indeed, will not tolerate much liberty of "speech. When I say this, I am renouncing my "own right; for you and all, whom I have "found exciting a spirit of faction against me, "are at my disposal." Having said this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus again opposed him, and some praised his firmness; but Cæsar with an elevated voice threatened to put him to death,

if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, "young man," said he, "you know very well, that "this is harder for me to say, than to do." Metellus, terrified by the menace, retired; and Cæsar was, afterward, easily and readily supplied with every thing necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, whence he resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants; and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piso pressed him to despatch deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, in order to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. The senate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those, who had suffered under Sylla; and relieved debtors, by cancelling part of the usurious interest which they had stipulated to pay[34]. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days.

After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then set out

[34] The term here used is the same previously employed in a similar quotation in the Life of Solon. See vol. I. p. 263.

to prosecute the war. He marched so rapidly to Brundusium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. He embarked, however, with only six hundred select horse and five legions[55]. It was at the time of the winter-solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month Posideon, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian sea, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back[56] his ships to Brundusium, to bring over the forces that had been left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue and worn down by the multitude of enemies, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to the port: "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? "Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs "of stone, or bodies of iron? But iron itself "yields to repeated blows; our very shields and "cuirasses call out for rest. Will not Cæsar "learn from our wounds that we are mortal, "that we have the same feelings, and are liable "to the same impressions with other men? The "gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or "clear the winter-seas of storms and tempests. "And it is in this season, that he would expose "us, as if he was rather flying from, than pursuing his enemies."

[55] He himself says, 'seven;' but, as he elsewhere makes them only fifteen thousand men, they must have been very incomplete.*

[56] He sent them back, under the conduct of Calenus. That officer losing the opportunity of the wind fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships and burned them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest. For many additional particulars, see Cæs. Bell. Civ. iii. Oricum and Apollonia were towns on the coast of Epirus. The latter still subsists under the name of Pollina, to the south of Durazzo.

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, likewise, for not having hastened their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea toward Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

In the mean time Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, in order to relieve himself from his anxiety and perplexity, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars without imparting to any person his intention, and sail to Brundusium[57]. In the night therefore he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat down in silence. They descended the [58] Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind rising in a morning usu-

[57] Most historians blame this, as a rash action; and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention either of it, or of another less dangerous attempt which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp. (L.) Our own annals furnish us, in Alfred, when he assumed the disguise of a Danish harper, with a similar instance of equally successful daring, in a much better cause.*

[58] Strabo (vii.) calls this river 'Aous.' In Polybius it is called 'Lous;' but that is obviously a corruption, the A having been changed by the transcriber into a Λ.

ally repels the waves of the ocean, and smooths the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up, which overpowered that from the land; so that by the rage of the sea, and the counter-action of the stream, the river became extremely rough: the billows dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar perceiving this rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said; "Go forward, my friend, and fear "nothing: thou carriest Cæsar and Cæsar's for-"tune in thy vessel[59]." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed in so fast, that Cæsar at last, though with considerable reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn about. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds; pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he had not assured himself of conquering with them alone, but in distrust of their support had given himself so much uneasiness, and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon afterward, Antony arrived from Brundusium with the troops[60]. Cæsar then in the

59 The noble simplicity of the *Quid times? Cæsarem vehis* has been amplified by Lucan, as Blair well observes in his fourth Lecture, into tumid declamation:

Sperne minas, inquit, pelagi, &c. (v. 578)*

60 Antony and Calenus put on board the vessels, which had

highest spirits offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas he himself at first had nothing like plenty, and was subsequently in extreme want. The soldiers however found great relief from a root[61] in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards threw it among them, and declared, "that as long as the earth produced such roots, "they would continue to besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and shuddered at the very thoughts of the impenetrable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's entrenchments[62], and Cæsar had the advantage in them all except one, in which his party was for-

except Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions, i. e. three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and, as soon as they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

[61] This root was called 'Chara,' or 'Clara.' Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it. (L.) Plin. H. N. xix. 3. informs us, that this bread was made of a kind of wild cabbage, *olus sylvestre trium foliorum*, or *capsana*, which he also calls (lib. 5.) *armoracia*. See also Isidor. xvii. 10., and Theophr. ix.

[62] Cæsar observed an old camp, which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was inclosed, and afterward abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. Cæsar attempted to recover it, and it was in this attempt that he lost nine hundred and sixty foot and four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. See B. C. iii. 71. What inclosed Pompey on the land-side, was a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

ced to fly with such precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey led the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign-staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, while others threw them upon the ground, so that not fewer than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having seized on a tall strong man, in order to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it, by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey (either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune) instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their entrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew; "This day "victory would have declared for the enemy, if "they had had a general who knew how to con-"quer." He then sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life: for he abandoned himself to endless reflections upon his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedon and Thessaly lay before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea (where the enemy's fleets had the superiority) and in a place, where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from the

want of provisions, rather than besieged the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedon: concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had hitherto done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

By this retreat of Cæsar Pompey's troops and officers were highly elated, considering it as a flight and an acknowledgement that he was beaten, and were therefore eager to pursue him: but Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of so much consequence. He was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little remaining vigour of the enemy. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up entrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and with their strength their inclination for labour was abated. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their wretched diet: And, what was a still more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle, but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen: For when he

saw the bodies of the enemy who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face and retired weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him 'Agamemnon,' and 'King of Kings;' as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he possessed, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wishing to retain his royal state would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant, who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches Pompey, against his own judgement, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. Upon his taking Gomphi[63], however, a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly from their distemper. For drinking plentifully of the wine which they found there, and afterward marching forward in a Bacchanalian manner, the

[63] See Cæs. Bell. Civ. iii. 80. Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place, before Pompey or Scipio came up, ordered a general assault about three in the afternoon; and, though the walls were very high, he carried it before sun-set. (L.)

Most of the particulars, here mentioned, have been previously stated in the Life of Pompey.*

increase of circulation threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite to each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed, that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, [and that he was adorning the chapel of Venus Nicephora, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree.] But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons; besides, they were much more numerous than those of Cæsar, being seven thousand to one. Neither were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was far advanced on his way "with two more legions, and that he had fifteen "cohorts more under the command of Calenus, in "the environs of Megara and Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose to wait for "those troops, or to risk a battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Don't let us wait; but "find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as "soon as possible, to action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the first victim,

the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within "three days." Cæsar then inquired, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage? He replied, "It is you, who can best resolve that "question. The gods announce a great change "and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at "present, the alteration will be for the worse; "if otherwise, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air like a torch, which as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brilliance, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult, not unlike a panic terror, was observed in the enemy's camp. Cæsar however so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotusa[64].

But as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up and told him, the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the intelligence, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were posted over-against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do, when the enemy's horse came to charge[65]. Pompey's disposition was as follows: He

[64] Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps to gain a favourable opportunity of fighting. See the Life of Pompey.

[65] Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in

commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law Scipio the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing, for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a powerful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but that they must necessarily be broken to pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said, Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of the soldier is augmented and inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole[66].

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius Crassinius[67]? How, "do we stand, think you?" "Cæsar," said the veteran in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "the victory is our's. It will be a glori-

his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæsar does not indeed expressly inform us who commanded there, but he says; "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army." (ib. 88.) See the notes, however, on the Life of Pompey.

[66] Cæsar was so confident of success, that he ordered his entrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

[67] Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls him 'Crassianus,' and Cæsar 'Crastinus.'

" ous one ; and this day I shall have your praise, " either alive or dead." So saying he rushed upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of a hundred and twenty men. He did considerable execution among the first ranks, and was pressing forward with unabated fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force into his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But, before they could begin the attack[68], the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind came boldly up to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but agreeably to the orders which they had received, aimed at their eyes and wounded them in the face. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a high value upon their beauty, would avoid above all things a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed upward, or the steel gleaming on their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last

[68] Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. (ib. 93.) Upon these six cohorts, he had previously said, the victory of that day would depend; and Frontinus has highly commended the stratagem, as most judicious and effectual.*

they shamefully fled, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had beaten them off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them in pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, neither did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of a divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word[69], and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had mounted his ramparts and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out; "What! "my camp too?" Then without uttering another word, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, privately made his escape. What misfortunes befel him afterward, how he put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his Life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh; "This "they would have: to this cruel necessity they re- "duced me. For had Cæsar dismissed his troops, "after so many great and successful wars, he "would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio, informs us that Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and subsequently recorded them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and

[69] See Cæs. ib. 94.

that there did not fall in the battle above six thousand soldiers[70]. Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry, that were taken prisoners, and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterward killed him, was of the number. As he did not make his appearance however immediately after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy; but upon his at last presenting himself unhurt, he expressed the utmost joy.

Among the many signs, that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable[71]. There was a statue of Cæsar, in the temple of Victory; and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, a palm-tree (we are told) sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated soothsayer, was observing the flight of birds on the day upon which the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those about him, "The important affair "now draws to a decision; the two generals are "engaged." He then made another observation, and the signs appeared so obvious, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out; "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror." As the com-

[70] Cæsar says, there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took above four and twenty thousand prisoners; and that, on his own side, the loss only amounted to about two hundred private soldiers and thirty centurions. (L.)

Asinius Pollio was eminent as an orator, an historian, and a poet. To his account of the civil wars, and his tragic compositions, Horace in his Od. II. i. refers; and from Suet. (Jul. 56.) we learn, that he charged Cæsar with inaccuracy in his Commentaries. In this imputation, however, no one seems to have seconded him.

[71] Cæsar mentions some others, as extraordinary and as absurd (ib. 105.) Tralles was a city of Lydia.

pany stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore he "would "never put it on again, till the event had placed "his art beyond question." This Livy affirms for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory which he had there gained, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege upon the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables; and he exonerated the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with deep abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing which he accepted, and on receiving it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and admitted them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, "That the chief enjoyment which he had of his "victory was, in saving every day one or other of "his fellow-citizens, who had borne arms against "him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel, which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the strongest influence at court, and who having taken off Pompey and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence it is said, that Cæsar for the greater secu-

rity of his person, began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends. The behaviour indeed of this eunuch in public, all he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn, with which he supplied his soldiers was old and musty, and he told them; "They ought to be satisfied with it, since "they lived at other people's cost." He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on the pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas. Cæsar had formerly forgiven his children the surplus but he thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time for the maintenance of his army. Photinus advised him to go and finish the weighty affair then upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks. But Cæsar told him, "He had no need of Egyptian coun-"sellors," and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princess, taking only one friend (Apollodorus, the Sicilian) with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening set off for the palace. As she saw it was difficult to enter undiscovered, she rolled herself in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæsar. This stratagem of her's, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first captivated Cæsar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast by the charms of her conversation, that he engaged to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment being given on account of this reconciliation, a servant of Cæsar's (his barber) a

most cowardly fellow, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing and to listen every where about the palace, found that Achillas the general and Photinus the eunuch were plotting against Cæsar's life. Cæsar, being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall, and killed Photinus. But Achillas escaped to the army, and involved Cæsar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops, he had to make head against a large city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty, which he encountered[72], was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter[73]. The second was the loss of his ships in the harbour, which he was himself forced to burn, in order to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames, unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace, consumed the great Alexandrian library. The third [74] was in the sea-fight near the isle of Pharos, when seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming[75].

[72] He had previously been in great danger, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria. (Ib. iii., and Hirt. Bell. Alex. 6.)

[73] They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a single night got a sufficient quantity of fresh water.

[74] First, there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the island and, last of all, the mole. It was in this last attack, that he encountered the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch (ib. 21.) For an account of the isle of Pharos, see a former note.

[75] His first intention was to gain the admiral-galley; but, finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others. And it

Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, he held them (it is said) above the water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sunk, soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar an opportunity of establishing Cleopatra queen of Egypt. She bore him soon afterward a son, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and thence marched into Asia Minor, where he received intelligence that Domitius (whom he had left governor) was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and driven out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a signal battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account which he gave to Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch of this victory, he used only three words[76], "I came, I saw, I conquered." Their having

was fortunate for him, that he did; for his own galley soon went to the bottom. (L.) The king of Egypt himself, subsequently, it appears (ib. 31.) after an unsuccessful skirmish made his escape into a small vessel, which sunk from the number of fugitives crowding about it, and all on board perished. His dominions Cæsar divided between his elder sister Cleopatra, and his younger brother, in obedience to the old king's will, by which the Romans were appointed executors.*

[76] The celebrated *Veni, vidi, vici.* See the account of this action, ib. 72—76. The place is there called 'Ziela.'

all the same form and termination, in the Roman language, adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome; as the year of his second dictatorship, an office which had never before been annual, was now on the point of expiring. He was there declared consul for the ensuing year. But it was a blot in his character, that he did not punish his troops who in a tumult had killed Cosconius and Galba (men of prætorian dignity) in any harsher manner than by calling them citizens[77], instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he likewise gave each of them a thousand drachmas, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius[78]; who having taken possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were highly disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour; but he was obliged, through political views, to continue the offenders in his service.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia,

[77] But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion, which had mutinied at Capua, and afterward marched with the utmost insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be again taken into his service; this, however, he did not grant without great seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

[78] It was Antony, not Cornificius, who obtained the forfeiture of Pompey's House; as appears from the Life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic, in which he exclaims, *O tecta illa misera, quam dispari domino.* There is probably, therefore, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber; and the passage should, perhaps, be read "the drunkenness of Cornificius, and the insolence of Antony," &c.

had escaped into Africa, where with the assistance of king Juba they raised a respectable army. Cæsar resolved therefore to carry the war into their quarters, and for that purpose, though it was now about the time of the winter-solstice, crossed over to Sicily. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition postponed, he pitched his own tent almost in the wash of the sea; and, a favourable wind springing up, embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse[79]. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remainder of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under deep concern. He found them however on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy placed great dependence upon an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That the race of Scipio "would always be victorious in Africa." And as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution[80], though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his own side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution, as if he had

[79] He had embarked six legions, and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned in the text was all that he landed with at first, many of the ships having been dispersed by a storm. (Hirt. Bell. Afr. 3, &c.)

[80] So called, we are told by Sueton. (Jul. 59.) from his infamous character. Upon it's etymology, a matter indeed of little consequence, Vossius and Lipsius differ. Plutarch is very brief in this part of the narrative, and omits several particulars, which may be well supplied however from Hirtius' account of the African war.

been really general, the command of the forces. There were frequent occasions of this kind; for he was often compelled to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged indeed to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it in order to make it go down. What laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient, was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day, when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they were diverting themselves with an African, who danced and played upon the flute to a surprising degree of perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with much delight; when the enemy falling upon them at once killed part, and entered the camp with the rest, who fled with the utmost precipitation. Had not Cæsar, indeed himself, and Asinius Pollio hastened out to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the whole would that very hour have been at an end. In another engagement, the enemy had again the advantage; upon which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "Look "on this side for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Leaving Afranius therefore and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was there constructing his

walls and ramparts, Cæsar with incredible despatch made his way through a country almost impracticable on account of it's woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him attacked one part of his army in the rear, and another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took Afranius' camp, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba their king being happy, on the first alarm, to save himself by flight. Thus in a small part of one day he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss of only fifty men.

Such is the account, which some give us of the action. Others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon it's approach, before it had overpowered him and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay perfectly still till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the engagement. Some of them being afterward taken despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica[81], of which Cato had the charge, and for that reason had not been

[81] Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did likewise soon after his return to Italy for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities, which had been destroyed in the same year (B. C. 146, the first by Scipio, and the other by Mummius) were in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had laid about a hundred years. Two years afterward (as appears below) they were both re-peopled with Roman colonies.

in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and he was visibly much affected by the intelligence. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of his uneasiness, he cried out; "O Cato, I envy thee thy death, "since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee "thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had entertained any intention of showing him favour. For how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he subsequently poured so much venom upon his grave? Yet from his clemency to Cicero, Brutus, and others innumerable who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured that the book was not written with a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition. It was composed on the following occasion: Cicero had drawn up an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of 'Cato' to the book. This was highly esteemed by many of the Romans (as might naturally be expected) as well from the superior eloquence of the author, as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was hurt at the success of a work, which in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called 'Anti-cato,' and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both these works have still their respective friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic measures

of wheat, and three million pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs, over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa[82]. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba alone. Juba the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. To him it proved a happy captivity; for, from a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece[83]. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had now been long dead.

When those exhibitions were finished[84], an ac-

[82] Plutarch either forgot to make mention of the triumph over Gaul, which was the most considerable (Suet. Jul. 37.) or else του Κελτικου has dropped out of the text.

[83] See the Life of Romulus, vol. I. p. 77. not. (46.)*

[84] Ruauld takes notice of three gross mistakes in this passage. I. That Cæsar took a census of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself in the Marmora Ancyrana states, that in his sixth consulate (that is, A.U.C. 725.) he numbered the people, which had not been previously done for forty-two years. II. That before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. III. That, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand were reduced by that war to an hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while afterward Cæsar made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. But (what is still stronger) eighteen years afterward Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand. From a passage in Suetonius (Jul. 41.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise. He there says, *Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per do-*

count was taken of the citizens, who from three hundred and twenty were reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand. So fatal a calamity had the civil war proved, and such a number of the people had it taken off; to say nothing of the misfortunes, which it had brought upon the rest of Italy and all the provinces of the empire!

This business completed, he was elected consul the fourth time; and his first measure was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who though young had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy of the command which they had assumed. The great battle, which put a period to that war, was fought under the walls of Munda [85]. Cæsar in the beginning saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he rushed through the ranks amidst the swords and spears, crying; "Are you "not ashamed to deliver your general into the "hands of boys?" The vigorous efforts, which this reproach produced, at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thousand of them slain; whereas Cæsar lost only a thousand, but those were some of his best soldiers. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He "had often fought for victory, but that was the "first time in which he had fought for his life."

minos insularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum è publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit.—Referring to the citizens that shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand: this number, probably because he perceived that distribution answered in many only the purposes of idleness, he reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand. Plutarch mistook *recensum* for *censum*; and this error led him into the other mistakes.

[85] A city between Gibraltar and Malaga. This battle was fought, B. C. 45.

He won this battle on the day of the Liberalia[85], the very day upon which Pompey the Great had four years before, marched out to commence the struggle. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was a few days afterward taken by Didius, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph upon this occasion gave the Romans more pain, than any of his other proceedings. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals, or barbarian kings; but for having ruined the children and destroyed the race of one of the greatest men, though he proved at last unfortunate, that Rome had ever produced. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, in the sight either of gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because before this he had never sent any messenger or letter, to acquaint the public with any victory which he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans however, bowing to his power and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries except receiving one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first, who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but still honours within the measure of humanity.

[85] These, though sacred to Bacchus, were not the Bacchanalia (which, from their licentiousness, had been now long suppressed, Liv. xxxix. 8.—18.) but were the same, according to Festus, with the Dionysiaca of the Greeks. They were celebrated on the seventeenth of March. (See Hirt. Bell. Hisp. 31.)

Those who followed contended with each other, which should pay him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. In these sacrifices his enemies are supposed to have vied with his flatterers, that they might have the better pretence, and the stronger motive to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough; because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems indeed, as if there was nothing unreasonable in their having decreed a temple to be built to Clemency, in gratitude for the mercy which they had then experienced. For he not only pardoned most of those, who had appeared against him in the field, but upon some of them he likewise bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius, for instance, who were both made prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture: he caused them to be replaced; upon which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæ-"sar, by rearing Pompey's statues, had firm-"ly fixed his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it. For he said, "It was bet-"ter to die once, than to live always in fear of "death." He considered the affection of the people, as his safest and most honourable guard; and he therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did also the soldiers by settling them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places, that he colonised, were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable, that as they were taken and demolished at

the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or if those were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all, he opened the prospects of hope; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people.[87] For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly toward the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninius Rebilius[88] consul for the single day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house; upon which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay our compliments to the consul, before his office is expired."[89]

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the numerous actions which he had performed by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy his glory; but rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and in-

[87] This noble motto, *populo dat jura volenti*, from the Fourth Georgic, was inscribed on the medals thrown among the populace at the coronation of our Edward III.*

[88] Macrobius calls him 'Rebilus.'

[89] There are some others of Cicero's quaint jokes upon this occasion still extant; as

"We have a most vigilant consul, for he has not once closed his eyes, since he entered upon his office:"

And again:

"Our consul is a man of so much strictness and rigour, that not a man of us has dined, supped, or slept during his magistracy;"

Item:

"Caninius is reduced to such a pass, as to be obliged to inquire under what consuls he was consul," &c.*

pired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager, as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian sea and Mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself; and then to return by Gaul to Rome: thus rounding the circle of the Roman empire, by extending it's bounds to the ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus.[90] He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, and so

[90] Ανηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος. The Latin and French translators join this with the sentence that follows, and render it; "He designed to unite the Anio and the Tiber, and convey them by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi," &c. But against that construction there is this strong objection, that the Anio, *hod.* Il Teverone, falls into the Tiber above Rome. In Greek too that river would be Ανιων, not Ανηνος. And what indeed can fairly be made of Ανηνον επι τουτο προχειρισαμενος, which would literally be, 'having previously fitted the Anio to that purpose?"

On the other hand it may be alleged, that possibly Plutarch might not know where the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber was, though with respect to a man who had lived some time at Rome this is scarcely an admissible supposition. Neither is he remarkably accurate in his version of Roman names. And we must likewise acknowledge, that we have not elsewhere met with 'Anienus,' as a Roman name.

Suetonius takes no notice of Cæsar's intention to make this cut.

into the sea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public-spirited work that he meditated, was to drain all the marshes by Nomentum[91] and Setia, by which sufficient ground would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed farther to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. But these things were carried no farther than the design.

He completed however the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time,[92] agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the highest utility. For not only in ancient times the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice gradually fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution: but even in Cæsar's time, when the solar year was in use, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who were the only persons who knew any thing about it, used all at once and when nobody expected it, to add an intercalary month called Mercedonius, of which Numa was the inventor. This remedy however proved much

[91] It appears, from a passage in Suetonius (Sul. 44.) *Siccare Pomptinas paludes*, as well as from another in Strabo, that for 'Nomentum,' we should here read 'Pomentium.'

[92] By this erroneous computation, the Roman calendar in the time of Cæsar had gained nearly three months. Endeavours had previously been used to correct it's irregularity, but it never could be done with exactness. See the Life of Numa, vol. I. p. 217. Lot. (73.)

too weak, and was far from operating, as we have already observed in that prince's Life, to the effectual correction of the great mis-computations which prevailed.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published (upon principles already verified) a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still use, and are thus nearer the truth than other nations, with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and the period of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero, if I mistake not, when some one happened to say, "Lyra[93] will rise tomorrow;" answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it:" As if the calendar, as well as other things, had been forced upon their acceptance.[94]

But what principally excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of 'king'. It was the first thing, that gave offence to the multitude, and it furnished his inveterate enemies with a most plausible plea for their conduct. Those, who sought to procure him that honour, announced to the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books; "The Romans "could never conquer the Parthians, unless they

[93] A constellation in the northern hemisphere, consisting in Ptolemy's catalogue of ten, in Tycho's of eleven, in Hevelius' of seventeen, and in the Britannic of twenty-one stars.*

[94] Cæsar was charged, upon this occasion, with aspiring to be the dictator of the skies. Such are the petty cavils of factious ignorance; but the translator of Aratus' Phenomena ought to have known, and in reality did know, the necessity of this reform, and the advantages which it produced. He could, not, however, lose his *bon mot*. He is, indeed, by no means a solitary proof that genius sometimes, as well as dulness, "loves a joke."*

" went to war under the conduct of a king." And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing the people offended at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said, " He was not called King, " but Cæsar." Upon this, a deep silence ensued, and he passed forward in no good humour.

At another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. Upon their approach he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station; and his answer to their address was, " That there was more need to retrench, than " to enlarge his honours." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but to the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all, who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step, which he had taken, he immediately retired to his own house; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, " He was " ready for the first hand that would strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper, as an excuse; and asserted, that those who are under it's influence are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing; a trembling and giddiness coming over them, which bereaves them of their senses. This however was not really the case, for it is said that he was actually desirous to rise to the senate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends (or rather flatterers) held him down, and had servility enough to say, " Will you not remember that you are Cæsar,

" and suffer them to pay their court to you as " their superior ?"

These discontents were much increased by the indignity, with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the Lupercalia,[95] which (according to most writers) is an ancient pastoral feast, and answers in many respects to the Lycæa among the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates run about the streets naked, and by way of diversion strike all they meet with hairy leathern thongs. Numbers of women of the first quality throw themselves into their way, and present their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master) under a conviction, that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæsar that day wore a triumphal robe, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the rostra, in order to see the ceremony.

Antony, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was then consul, ran among the rest. When he came into the Forum, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this some plaudits were heard, but those very feeble ones, as proceeding only from persons placed there for that purpose. Cæsar refused it, and the plaudits were then loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness; but, when Cæsar again rejected it, the applause was again universal. Cæsar, undeceived by this second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the capitol.

A few days afterward, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and

[95] See the Life of Romulus, vol. I. p. 94. not. (73.)*

Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them "Brutuses," because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and placed the government in the hands of the senate and people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times 'Brutes' and 'Cumæans.'[96]

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who by the father's side was supposed to be a descendent of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also the nephew, and son-in-law, of Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by a sense of the honours and kindnesses received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to favour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured for him the most honourable prætor-

[96] One thing which Strabo (xiii.) mentions as an instance of the stupidity of the Cumæans, namely, their not laying any duty upon merchandise imported into their harbour, seems a very equivocal proof of it: for their leaving the port free might bring them trade, and make them a flourishing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is scarcely worth repeating) is, that they had mortgaged their porticoes, and upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at last, when some heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be allowed that indulgence. Hence (as he informs us) the saying, "The Cumæans have not sense to go under shelter when it rains, till they are put in mind of it by the cryer."

ship, and had named him for the consulship four years afterward, in preference to Cassius his competitor. Upon which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius adduces the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some persons lodged an impeachment against Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but instead of listening to them, Cæsar laid his hand upon his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for "this skin:" intimating that, though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him solely, or him principally at least: and as they durst not give utterance to their sentiments, they filled with billets night after night the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, generally in these terms; "Thou sleepest, Brutus:" or, "Thou art not "Brutus."

Cassius, perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him forward to the great enterprise; for he had himself a particular enmity against Cæsar, for reasons which we have assigned in the Life of Brutus. Of this, Cæsar had some suspicion; and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I don't "like his pale looks." At another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said; "I have no apprehensions from those fat and "sleek men, I rather fear the pale and lean ones:" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It appears from this instance, that fate is not so secret, as it is inevitable. For we are told, there were strong signs and presages of Cæsar's death,

As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises[97] heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the Forum, perhaps upon an event so important as this, they hardly deserve our notice; but some attention should be paid to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be consumed, yet on it's going out it was not found to have sustained any injury; and one of the victims, which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for no creature can naturally exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger, which threatened him on the ides[98] of March; and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said laughing, "The ides of "March are come;" to which he calmly replied, "Yes; they are come, but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed according to custom a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What "kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with

[97] With some of the MSS. we read ΚΤΠΤΟΙΣ *ενδιας φαντασιας διαφερομενους*. If the common reading, ΤΥΠΟΙΣ κ. τ. λ. be preferred, the sense will be 'the spectres seen hovering about in the night.'

[98] Or fifteenth. The soothsayer's name, according to Suet. Jul. 81., was Spurinna.

his wife, the doors and windows of the room suddenly flew open. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed by moonshine Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed, that she was weeping over him, as she held him murthered in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the[99] pinnacle was fallen, which (as Livy informs us) the senate by way of ornament and distinction, had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, and that it was this which occasioned her sobbing and tears. Be that as it may, next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and if he paid no regard to her dreams, to inquire by some other species of divination, or by sacrifices, into his future fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never before observed in Calpurnia, though now so deeply affected, any thing of the weakness or superstition of her sex.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time Decius Brutus[100], surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person, in whom Cæsar placed such confidence, that he had appointed him his second heir, and yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discover-

[99] The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the tops of their temples, and adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device. With regard to the honours lavished upon Cæsar, see Suet. Jul. 76.

[100] Plutarch finding a D. prefixed to Brutus, took it for 'Decius'; but his name was 'Decimus' Brutus. See App. and Suet.

ed, laughed at the soothsayers, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if by such neglect he gave the senate an occasion of complaint or accusation against him. "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, and came prepared "with one voice to honour him with the title of "'king' in the provinces, and to grant that he "should wear the diadem both by land and sea "every where out of Italy. But if any one, "now that they have taken their places, bid them "go home again, and return when Calpurnia hap-"pens to have better dreams, what room will not "your enemies have to inveigh against you? Or "who will listen to your friends, when they at-"tempt to show, that this is not open servitude "on the one hand, and complete tyranny on the "other? At all events, if you are absolutely "persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is "certainly better to go yourself, and tell them "you have strong reasons for adjourning the busi-"ness before them." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He had not proceeded far from the door, when a slave belonging to some other person attempted to get up to speak to him; but finding it impossible on account of the surrounding crowd, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, as he had matters of the utmost importance to disclose.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who by teaching the Greek eloquence became acquainted with some of Brutus' friends, and had procured intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he

received them, to his officers, he approached him as close as possible, and said; "Cæsar, read this "to yourself, and quickly; for it contains mat- "ters of great consequence, and of the utmost con- "cern to you." He took it, and frequently attempted to read it, but was always prevented by one application or another. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say, it was delivered to him by another person[101], Artemidorus in his endeavours to approach him having been constantly obstructed by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of the tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be more obvious than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus[102], turned his eye to Pompey's statue, and secretly invoked his aid before the great attempt. The arduous occasion, it seems, over-ruled his former sentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthusiasm.

Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar and a man of considerable muscular strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose

[101] By Caius Trebonius. So Plutarch says, in the Life of Brutus: Appian says the same; and Cicero too, in his Philipp. xiii. 10.

[102] Who taught, that the gods took no concern in sublunary affairs.

to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metillius Cimber[103], for the recal of his brother from exile. These instances they continued, till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he gave them a positive denial; and, as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber then with both hands pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the onset of so tremendous an enterprise he was, probably, in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold on his sword. At the same time, they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy, were seized with consternation and horror, so that they durst neither fly nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Hence Brutus himself gave him a

[103] 'Metillius,' is plainly a corruption. Suetonius (Sul.89.) calls him 'Cimber Tullius.' In Appian he is denominated 'Atilius Cimber,' and there is a medal which bears that name, but it is believed to be spurious. Some call him 'Metellus Cimber;' and others suppose we should read 'M. Tullius Cimber.'

stroke in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; but that he then drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood: so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than twenty-three wounds. Many of the conspirators, likewise, as they were aiming their blows at him, wounded one another.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him. They fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses, others left their shops and counters; all were in motion. One was running to see the spectacle: another was running back from it. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew and hid themselves in other people's houses. In the meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands from the senate-house to the capitol; not like men that fled, but with an air of gayety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some, who even joined them, and mingled with their train; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterward paid dear for their va-

nity, being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they did not even gain the honour, for which they lost their lives: for no body believed, that they had borne any part in the enterprise; and they were punished, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day Brutus and the rest of the conspirators came down from the capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse, without expressing either dislike or approbation of what had been done. But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, though at the same time they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty, and to reconcile all parties, decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and other suitable honours: So that it was generally imagined, the commonwealth was firmly re-established, and every thing settled in the best possible order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy; and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the Forum all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept in order. They stopped the procession, and tearing up the benches with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burned the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to set on fire the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city to seize their persons, and tear them in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves, that they could nowhere be found.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (we are told) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and upon

his refusal to go caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all his resistance. Hearing however that the body of Cæsar was to be burned in the Forum, he went to assist in paying him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who he was?" and having learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murtherers; and one of the conspirators did, indeed, bear the same name. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces on the spot. This rage of the populace so terrified Brutus and Cassius, that a few days afterward they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings, and death, may be found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six,[104] not having survived Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts at last acquired. But he reaped no other fruit from it, than an empty and invidious title. It is true, the Divine Power, which conducted him through life, attended him as his avenger after death, and pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land; not resting so long as a single individual remained, either of those who had dipped their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had used against Cæsar; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens,

[104] B. C. 44.

a great comet[105], which shone very bright seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale throughout the whole of that year: he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had his heat it's usual strength and fullness. The air was of course dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous warmth, which clears and rarefies it; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking, that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is as follows; Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydus[106] to the opposite continent; and the night before, he lay in his tent awake according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for no general ever required so little sleep, and he usually indeed watched the greatest part of the night. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent; and looking toward the light, which was now burnt very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first, he was struck with astonishment: when he perceived however that it neither did nor spoke any thing to him,

[105] "A comet made it's appearance in the north, while we "were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone "bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of "the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly be-"lieved to be a sign, that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among "the gods; we therefore added a star to the head of his statue, "which was consecrated soon afterward in the Forum." (Fragm. Aug. Cæs. ap. Plin. H. N. ii. 25.)

[106] An Asiatic city on the Hellespont opposite Sestus, celebrated as the scene of the Loves of Hero and Leander.*

but stood in silence by his bed-side, he asked it, "Who it was?" The spectre answered, "I am "thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me at "Philippi." Brutus boldly replied, "I'll meet "thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time afterward, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the spectre again appeared to him, but spoke not a word. Brutus however understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing every thing lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend (as we are told) assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot[107]:

[107] Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The Life which he has written is a confused jumble of facts, compiled from different historians without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and more delicate traits, which (he himself justly observes) distinguish and characterise the man, more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written, in short, like a man under restraint; skimming over his actions, and showing a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself in the narrative of other Lives. Yet from the little light which he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a man of uncommon virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding or even of managing that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have put so early a period to his race of glory.

ALEXANDER AND JULIUS CÆSAR COMPARED.

THESE two warriors stand so high above all others in military reputation, that it is difficult to compare them, and still more difficult to determine which of them deserves the preference. With some very marked features of resemblance, they are still more sensibly distinguished by the differences in their characters, the motives of their enterprises, their modes of warfare, their enemies, their exploits, their political conduct, and the deaths which closed their tumultuary lives.

The names of Alexander and Cæsar have long been proverbially identified with heroic bravery. The first was never conquered; the latter never sustained any serious disaster, and his slight ones he compensated by innumerable victories. Uniting all the great qualities of great generals, though the courage of the Macedonian was more vehement and impetuous than that of the Roman general, they were equally enlightened in the choice of their means, and equally certain of the extent of their effects. Their's was an ardour, which obstacles only served to inflame; a patience, which toils never tired; an intrepidity, which no dangers could daunt; a penetration, which no intricacy could elude; a skill the most profound, in forming encampments and conducting sieges; and an art the most invaluable, of inspiring their troops with that assured pledge of success, implicit confidence in their leader. The number, and the rapidity, of their triumphs

are almost miraculous. Their progress through the numerous nations, which within a very few years yielded to their arms, was rather a series of marches than of engagements: and even their deaths, though widely different, in this respect resembled each other, that they surprised their respective victims in the meditation of still loftier projects, and cut them off in the midst of their career of glory. But to come to a little more of detail.

Alexander born a prince, and the son of a king whose education had profited from Epaminondas, was brought up in a manner worthy of his birth and of his father. Aristotle, to whom Philip confided this precious charge, developed the native endowments of his illustrious pupil by teaching him not only morals and politics, sciences indispensable for those who are entrusted with the happiness of mankind, but also the most abstruse mysteries of philosophy. These Alexander apprehended with the utmost facility, and by the splendor of his attainments did ample justice to the genius and industry of his tutor.

Of the early years of Cæsar, and of his youthful studies, little is particularly known. We are only told, that he went to Rhodes to study eloquence under Apollonius; but from the remains of his literary labours, executed as they were amidst the bustle of arduous military undertakings, we cannot doubt that his faculties were naturally most admirable, and the improvement of them by education most judicious.

Alexander preserved to the last a high relish for letters. Indifferent to the renown of excelling in bodily exercises, he almost exclusively confined his exertions to the cultivation and improvement of his mind. In his enthusiastic veneration for

Homer, and in the prizes instituted at his great festivals, this was his obvious feeling. Cæsar had equal taste and zeal for study, and superior eloquence. His youthful success indeed at the bar gained him such high reputation, that it was supposed, if he had pursued his fortune as an advocate, he would have risen above all his competitors; and stood as unrivalled in civil, as by a different direction of his powers he subsequently did in military renown. His Commentaries are pronounced by the best critics perfect in their kind, and not less useful as models to the historian, than as lessons to the warrior. And his reformation of the calendar, involving accurate disquisitions in a science then little understood at Rome, has gained him a less melancholy, though not less permanent glory than that, which he has derived from his wars.

But the principal points of difference between these two eminent men are chiefly observable in their youth: Alexander, proof to all the temptations of a court, steadily pursued the dignified and princely objects placed before him by his virtuous preceptor. Cæsar, abandoned to every species of voluptuousness and libertinism, became the proverb of the day; and the former had already by his achievements earned immortality at an age, at which the latter was still wallowing in the grossest sensuality. Yet, amidst all this profligacy, his refusal to divorce his wife in obedience to the omnipotent Sylla announced that lofty love of independence, which was at a future day to bear him on to the sovereignty of the world. Alexander with equal pride, and equal independence of spirit, inflexibly resisted every attempt to compel his concurrence, but easily yielded to the gentle empire of reason and remonstrance. All

his projects, all his sentiments, displayed the elevation of his soul. Neither does that of Cæsar appear less elevated, when he mocks and threatens, the pirates, who had taken him prisoner; or, while the storm is raging around him, hardily cries to the pilot, "Fear nothing; thou bearest "Cæsar and his fortune."

The education of Alexander had prepared him for temperance; and we are therefore little surprised to see him rejecting the dainties of Asia, and seasoning his simple repasts with exercise and sobriety. But the abstemiousness of Cæsar, after his debauched and effeminate youth, his readiness to sacrifice the gratification of his own wants to those of others, his prompt surrender of the single bed-room at the cottage to his sick friend, excite our astonishment. Alexander's refusal of water, when parched by the most painful thirst, was a noble mode of encouraging his fainting army: but by his love of wine toward the end of his career he tarnished the glory of his early temperance, and sunk under his excesses into a premature tomb. Cæsar in more advanced life equally reversed his character, and exhibited a signal example of self-denial and moderation.

In the midst of perils and hardships, both evinced unconquerable fortitude. The Macedonian, always foremost to encounter toil and danger, plunges into a deep and rapid river under a shower of darts from all quarters, throws himself among the thickest of the enemy, and irresistibly draws after him his amazed and panting forces. The Roman, with a feeble and sickly habit of body, surmounts every natural weakness; and, still more to his honour, displays a degree of patience and intrepidity not outdone by that of the constitutionally-robust king of Macedon himself.

Hence the confidence and the heroism of their followers, strengthened indeed and confirmed by their occasional largesses and uniform liberality. In the distribution of these, however, Alexander appears to have had the advantage. What indeed could be more noble, than his bestowing upon his friends his whole property, on setting out for Asia, and reserving only 'hope' for himself? Can we wonder that, if their troops occasionally despond amidst a succession of sufferings, they are soon recalled to a sense of duty by generals at once so popular and so persevering?[108]

In his outset, Alexander displayed great clemency and moderation. Even his destruction of Thebes is palliated, if not expiated, by the remorse which followed it. He not only shed tears over Darius, "fallen from his high estate," but unrelentingly pursued and punished his assassins. Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia in particular, gave abundant proofs of his mercy; and in many instances lavished his pardon and his bounties upon men, at that time his enemies, and subsequently his murtherers. He bewails the numbers, who perished on that disastrous day; he weeps over the fate of his mighty rival; he rears afresh his statues, which had been thrown down; and only

[108] Alexander, when on the point of being abandoned by his troops, exclaimed, "Fly cowards, I will subdue the world "without you; Alexander will never want soldiers, so long "as he can find men." This anecdote, not preserved by Plutarch, the great Condè accounted the most brilliant trait in the character of a prince, in many respects his own exact prototype. The same noble critic, with reference to the hazardous bravery of Alexander, preferred him to Cæsar: "*J'aimerois "mieux être Alexandre, que Cesar.*" This hero's character has lately been much illustrated by a variety of writers, and not least ably by the learned and accurate Dr. Vincent, in his "Voyage of Nearchus."

appears inferior to Alexander in this respect, by not having equally avenged that rival's death.

Both, however, are chargeable with occasional cruelty and treachery. Cæsar put to death many eminent officers, whom he had taken at the battle of Thapsus; and, violating his recent peace with the Germans, massacred in one bloody day three hundred thousand men. Alexander is still more deeply criminal. Upon entering Asia, he ordered his troops to give no quarter. He destroyed Clitus. "This," it will be said, "was done in "a transport of drunkenness." But not even this wretched apology can be pleaded in vindication of his treatment of the blunt and honest Callisthenes, and the loyal veteran Parmenio. And what shall we say of his wholesale murther of an Indian garrison, to which he had just granted honourable terms of capitulation?

His continence with regard to the princesses of Darius' family, whom he would not even see or permit to be named in his presence, and who found the holiness of a sanctuary amidst the licentiousness of a camp, is a glorious feature in his character. Cæsar, to the end of his life, could never overcome his devoted attachment to the sex. In Cleopatra, he nearly met his ruin; for to his wish of serving this second Omphale most writers have ascribed his dangerous Alexandrian war. But Alexander seduced by augmented power, and in some measure perhaps by the manners and the climate of Persia, fell into fatal debauchery. His ridiculous self-praise, the lying monuments left on the banks of the Hyphasis to mislead posterity, and his absurd longing for Athenian applause, form a strong contrast with the unostentatious narratives of the Roman chieftain.

Religion is too seldom the characteristic of generals, particularly of successful ones. To his judicious education the Macedonian prince owed tolerably correct notions of Divine Providence, and of human dependence. His days open with sacrifice, and he is always grateful to Heaven for his victories. In what may by courtesy be called the 'religious' part of Cæsar's Catilinarian speech, we discover nothing but atheism; and his attendance upon the ceremonies of his country is, obviously, in mere external conformity to the established prejudices of Rome. Alexander could only affect to filiate himself to Jupiter Ammon, with the political view of facilitating the progress of his arms; and his final turn to superstition must be set down to the irregularities of his more advanced life. This superstition Cæsar, indeed, avoided; but it was by an excess still more unjustifiable and more injurious, that of infidelity.

In policy, the son of Philip seems to have been inferior to the Roman dictator; and his situation from his birth was such, as less imperiously to call it into exercise. From his different plans, however, regarding the critically-happy site of Alexandria, the conciliating adoption of oriental manners and customs, the educating of thirty thousand young Persian noblemen in Grecian literature and Macedonian discipline, and (above all) the intermarrying of his chief officers with the females of distinction in the conquered countries, we cannot but infer great political talents. Cæsar, in order to gratify his ambition, sticks at nothing: he cringes to the dregs of the Roman vulgar; he combines with the scum of the plebeian magistrates; he procures the enactment of popular, but pernicious, laws; he mediates between Pompey and Crassus,

only for the sake of playing them off against each other; and even in his more reputable measures, in restoring liberty to some of the states of Greece, in equitably regulating the affairs of Spain, in relieving from oppressive imposts the cities of Asia, we trace motives of interest; motives disgraceful to that policy, which is never sound or honourable, except when it rests upon morality as it's basis.

They were both ambitious of universal empire: Alexander weeps over his father's victories, as having pre-occupied what he wished to owe only to his own. On the same principle, he turns away from the liberal offers of Darius. Cæsar peruses Alexander's triumphs with tears, and, dissatisfied with regal power unaccompanied by the titles and emblems of royalty, grasps at a visionary diadem, and perishes in the effort.

In motives, and in remunerations, Alexander has greatly the superiority. He sets out to avenge Greece for the ravages of her Persian invaders. He scatters the fruits of his conquests upon all around him, and bestows kingdoms even on his vanquished enemies. Without the dignity of these comparatively-noble feelings, Cæsar in the government of Gaul sees only the means of enhancing his reputation, of attaching his followers, and of teaching them by the subjugation of barbarians to subjugate their fellow-citizens. His immense wealth he lavishes upon his vile instruments of faction; and, after a few feeble (and, perhaps, insincere) attempts at accommodation, he deluges his country with civil blood.

In valour, the prominent characteristic of both, they widely differ. Cæsar, at the head of his army, is the greatest of men: Alexander, in the heat of conflict, is one of Homer's gods, and

marks his station by the havock which he deals around him. The extent of their achievements may, probably, be nearly equal: but those of the king of Macedon are invested with a grandeur and heroism, appearing almost like inspiration to a heathen age. His very youth is crowded with victories. Once engaged, he never remits. The impetuous Granicus, the straits of Issus, the almost impregnable towers of Tyre, the deserts of Arabia, the plain of Arbela, are the successive scenes of his renown. The forests of Gaul and of Germany, which witnessed ten years of nearly continuous war, the fields of Spain, of Thessaly, of Egypt, and of Africa were Cæsar's theatres of exhibition, and crowned him with abundant glory. He first carried an army across the Rhine by a bridge, of which the plan and the completion do equal honour to his genius and his courage. He first penetrated into Britain; and by extending his country's power over nations, which had never before heard her name, accomplished in the west what Alexander had previously achieved in the eastern extremity of the globe. The reduction of Alesia may fully rank with that of Tyre; and, if in original grandeur the feats of the Roman sink beneath those of the Macedonian general, they at least equally rise above them in the durability of their effects. With Alexander his conquests expired: whereas Rome long maintained the sway, which had been won for her by the arms of Cæsar, and under his more artful and fortunate nephew successfully asserted to herself the dominion of the world.

Let us compare their resources. With a force of at most fifty thousand men, and an ill-filled military chest, Alexander marched against a prince, who had millions of soldiers and of trea-

sure to oppose him. Cæsar generally fought, indeed, against superior numbers; but he had always the means of recruiting his army, and of replenishing his exchequer: whereas Alexander was long obliged to subsist, without either kind of supplies. His troops, it is true, were valiant, and their opponents with few exceptions effeminate; while the Gauls and the Germans were hardy, and strong, and brave. The Roman generals likewise, whom Cæsar conquered, were of high professional character; and his chief rival, in particular, by his early victories had earned the surname of the 'Great:' but it must not be forgotten that at Tyre, in Scythia, from the Malli, and in his action with Porus, Alexander encountered considerable resistance, and was occasionally in imminent personal danger.

Alexander's proud distinction consists in his never having been beaten, whereas Cæsar by his own misconduct, as he nobly confesses, sometimes was. From his defeat of Pompey however at Pharsalia, till he fell at the feet of his statue in the senate-house, he was uniformly prosperous: and can we confidently pronounce, that the conqueror of Darius, if his career had been extended beyond the short term assigned to it, would not also have had his reverses?

Of their deaths we have already briefly spoken. Intemperance despatched the one, and ambition the other. Vice and passion may be more or less tardy in their operations, but they never forego their claims upon their devotees.

To sum up the chief points of this parallel. In the youthful Alexander we contemplate nearly the perfect model of a great prince: but drunkenness, vanity, suspicion, and cruelty deformed his maturity. By the correctness of his

manhood Cæsar compensated the profligacy of his early years. With the exception of his passion for Cleopatra, a passion equally unsuitable to his age and to his interest, he became generally sober, moderate, and prudent. Yet the first, notwithstanding the frailties of his closing life, and the disgrace of his death, died equally regretted by his Persian and his Macedonian subjects: whereas the latter, who had pardoned and promoted his enemies, who by his victories over the barbarians of the west had relieved Rome from her alarms, and given extent and stability to her power, fell a victim to the daggers of those whom he had loaded with kindnesses, and even by his assassination conferred upon them for a while the lofty title of 'Preservers of their Country.' Alexander was the admiration and the love of his enemies: Cæsar, by a fate fortunately common to usurpers, incurred the hatred of his fellow-citizens, and even of his friends.

[106] For some high-wrought traits of Cæsar, see Cic. Orat. pro M. Marcell. 2, 3, &c. and for his contrast with Cato the Younger, Sall. Bell. Cat. 57.; and for an eloquent though partial comparison of the generalship, fortune, and forces of Alexander with the contemporaneous ones of Rome, Liv. ix. 16—19. The last section, in particular, supplies some very interesting and encouraging suggestions for our own eventful times; of which the great disturber is said never to seek repose, without a Plutarch by his bed-side. And would it imply any subtilty to detect, in the Lives of the commanders who have just passed under our review, in their art of "inspiring "confidence into their followers," in the project of "intermarrying the Macedonian officers with females of distinction in the conquered countries," &c. &c. &c. abundant points of comparison between the two ancients and their modern copyist? Neither has his celebrity been purchased at a much less expence of blood; though the infamous immortality of the Roman is derived from his having sacrificed to his ambition what Plutarch grossly calls above a million, but what minuter accounts (quoted with powerful effect by Burke, in his ironical vindication of Natural, and

by Godwin in his serious attack upon Political society) advance to the shocking aggregate of 1,200,000 men. Well may Darwin observe, "The works of Homer are supposed to have done great injury to mankind, by inspiring the love of military glory. Alexander was said to *sleep with them always on his pillow*. How like a mad butcher amidst a flock of sheep appears the hero of the Iliad, in the following fine lines of Mr. Pope which conclude the twentieth book!

His fiery coursers as the chariot rolls,
Tread down whole ranks and crush out heroes' souls;
Dash'd from the hoofs, as o'er the dead they fly.
Black bloody drops the smoking chariot dye;
The spiky wheels through heaps of carnage tore,
And thick the groaning axles dropp'd with gore;
High o'er the scene of death Achilles stood,
All grim with dust, and horrible with blood:
Yet still insatiate, still with rage on flame—
Such is the lust of never dying-fame!"

(Zoonom. III. i. i. 9. *Ambitio.*)

THE

LIFE

OF

PHOCION.

SUMMARY.

Phocion's glory obscured by the unhappy circumstances of the times. Difficult to govern republics in adversity. Just temperature of conduct hard to be discovered. Excessive austerity of Cato. Why compared with Phocion. Phocion's birth and character. His various observations. He serves under Chabrias; their mutual regard. He equally studies politics and war; never flatters the people. His different sayings. Reflexions upon his character. Esteem for him by the Athenian allies. He gains a complete victory over Philip's army in Eubœa. The allies refuse to receive Chares' fleet into their harbours. Phocion appointed to supersede him. He gets possession of Megara, and advises his countrymen to make peace with Philip: is placed at the head of the administration. His opinion relative to the citizens demanded by Alexander. He advises that prince to turn his arms against the Persians: refuses his presents. His wife. He carries his son to Lacedæmon, to be brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. His conduct with respect to Harpalus: prudence on receiving news of Alexander's death: opinion on the Lamian war. He defeats Micion. Victory and subsequent defeat of the confederate Greeks in Thessaly. Phocion despatched embassador to Antipater: His second embassy. The Athenians obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. Twelve thousand citizens excluded, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government. Rigour and tyranny of Antipater. Phocion's prudence, and disinterestedness. Death of

Demades and his son. Phocion renders Nicanor kind and obliging to the Athenians. They are deceived by Polyperchon. Nicanor forms designs upon the Piræus. Phocion accused of treason. Polyperchon sends him bound, in a cart, to Athens. The people condemn him to death. His magnanimity. A poor man, named Conopion, manages his funeral. Repentance of the Athenians, and honours paid by them to Phocion: Vengeance taken upon his accusers.

PHOCION.

DEMADES the orator[1], by studying in his whole administration to gratify the Macedonians and Antipater, had considerable authority in Athens. Whenever he found himself obliged by that complaisance to propose laws, and to make speeches, injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he used to say; "He was "excusable, because he came to the helm at a "time, when the commonwealth was no more "than a wreck." This assertion, which in him was unwarrantable, applies apparently with great accuracy to the administration of Phocion. Demades was the very man, who wrecked his country. He pursued such a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater scrupled not to compare him, when he was grown old, to "a sacrificed beast, all con-"sumed except his tongue and his paunch."[2] But Phocion's virtue found a strong and

[1] This man, one of the demagogues of the day, and the venal tool of Macedon, finally, (as we shall see in the sequel of this life) fell a victim to his intrigues.*

[2] The tongue and paunch were not burned with the rest of the victim. The paunch was stuffed and served up at table, and the tongue consumed on the altar in honour of Mercury at the end of the entertainment, when libations were poured upon it, of this there are many examples in Homer's Odyssey.

powerful adversary in the times, and it's glory was sullied and obscured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. Yet Virtue is not so weak, as Sophocles would make her, where he says,

> For not in adverse days the native spirit
> Remains, but flies.

All the advantage, that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the virtuous is, her bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence which the world would otherwise have in their excellence.

It is imagined indeed that, when affairs prosper, the people elated with their strength and success behave with greater insolence to good ministers; but the very reverse is the case. Misfortunes always sour their tempers; the least thing will then disturb them; they take fire at trifles, and they are impatient of the least severity of expression. He, who reproves their faults, seems to reproach them with their misfortunes; and every free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so it often happens that a remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and sense, hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant by the word *menoikes*, which signifies what is symphonious to the mind, what soothes it's weakness, and does not bear hard upon it's inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark dingy colours, and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill-advised measures. Such is the timorous and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the least whisper of alarm. Even

upon the most necessary occasions, when it is on the verge of irretrievable errors, it is an arduous task to govern such a people; for, if the man who tells them truth falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them perishes with them at last.

The mathematicians[3] say, the sun does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite; but, circulating with a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives the whole system such a temperature as tends to it's preservation. So in a system of government, if a statesman be determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to thwart the wishes of the people, such rigour must render his administration odious; on the other hand, if he suffer himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will soon be in a tottering and ruinous state. The latter, however, is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening and sometimes tightening the reins, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles; for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will lead men to concur in many useful schemes, into which they could never be driven by despotism and violence. This medium, it must be acknowledged, it is laborious and difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but, when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this

[3] This name, in ancient times, was particularly given to astronomers.

sublime harmony, that the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands: his influence is indeed irresistible, but it is at the same time mild and rational.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging, or popular in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was inconsiderable. Cicero says "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of "Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and therefore he lost the consulate.[4]" His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit, which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old-fashioned virtue of Cato, making it's appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which lapse of years had introduced, had all the splendor of reputation which such a phænomenon could claim, but it did not suit the exigencies of the state; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. His circumstances indeed were not altogether like those of Phocion, who did not come into the administration till the state was sinking[5], whereas Cato had only to save the ship beating about in the storm. At the same time we must allow, that he had not the principal direction of her; he did not sit at the helm: he could do no more than help

[4] Ep. ad Att. ii. 1. But we find nothing there of the repulse, which Cato met with in his application for the consulship. That repulse, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of this epistle.

[5] Extraordinary efforts are more necessary to save the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ship, yet whole and entire, from sinking.

to hand the sails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of instruments, but with great difficulty, by slow steps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being saved by Cato, and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, so as to say, they were both persons of integrity and able statesmen (for there is a difference between valour and valour[6]: for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themistocles, and that of Aristides, were not the same; justice was of one kind in Numa, and in Agesilaus, of another) but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular; in impression, and form, and colour, perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the same solicitude for others, and the same disregard for themselves; the same abhorrence of every thing base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment upon all occasions to justice: so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely-discriminated

[6] This is admirably exemplified in Homer, and as well described by Pope in his valuable preface, where he speaks of the courage of Achilles, as "furious and untractable; that of Diomede, as forward, yet listening to advice and subject to command; that of Ajax, as heavy and self-confiding; that of Hector, as active and vigilant; that of Agamemnon, as inspirited by love of empire and ambition; that of Menelaus, as mixed with softness and tenderness for his people," &c &c. So of the wisdom of Ulysses and Nestor, he observes, that of the first is "artificial and various; of the latter natural, open, and regular." Whereas the heroes of Virgil and Statius, from their undistinguished characters, seem all "brothers of one family."*

sounds of the organ[7], to mark the difference in their characters.

It is universally agreed, that Cato was of an illustrious pedigree, of which we shall give some account in his Life; and Phocion's, we conjecture, was not mean or obscure: for had he been the son of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus the son of Hyperides, among a thousand other things, in the treatise which he wrote on purpose to disparage him. Neither, if his birth had been so low, would he have had so good an education, or such a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that when very young he was a pupil of Plato, and afterward of Xenocrates in the Academy; and, from the very first, he distinguish-

[7] Ὅτι λίπτυ πάνυ λέγει δεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ πρὸς διάκρισιν καὶ κίνησιν τῶν διαφόρων.

The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Ctesibius, who (according to Athenæus) placed in the temple of Zephyrus at Alexandria a tube, which, collecting air by the appulsive motion of water, emitted musical sounds, either by their strength adapted to war, or by their lightness to festivity. Hedylus, in his Elegies, mentions this organ under the title of Κέρας.

Ζωροῦνται καὶ τοῦτο φίλον Ζεφύρῳ μετὰ νῆον,
Θεῖστον μὲν βασιλεὺς εἰσάθεσεν τὸ κέρας,
Σαλπίζον λυγίας τε κρουπέζος φύσιν ἠχῆς
Δεινήν καὶ πολέμου σύνθεμα καὶ θαλίης.

Thus we see, this instrument was capable of great variety and discrimination of harmony. Of this water-organ Claudian has left us the following description:

Et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu,
Innumeras voces regelis moderatur ahenæ.
Intonat erranti digito, penitusque trabali
Vecte laborantes in carmina concitat undas.

Cornelius Severus says, *Ejus fuit generis, qui aquarum ictu aurum conciperet.* But it's *innumeræ voces* (as Claudian calls them) it's 'variety of expression,' is undoubtedly the reason, why Plutarch mentions it in this place.

ed himself by his strong application to the most valuable studies. Duris informs us, that the Athenians never saw him either laugh, or cry, or make use of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloke when he was dressed to appear in public. If he made an excursion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always barefooted, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold: and then his soldiers used to laugh, and say, "It is a sign "of a sharp winter; Phocion has put his clothes "on."

He was one of the most humane and best-temperéd of men; and yet he had so ill-natured and forbidding a look, that strangers were afraid to address him without company. When Charles the orator therefore observed to the Athenians, "What terrible brows Phocion had;" and they could not help smiling at the remark, he said, "This brow of mine never gave one of you an hour "of sorrow; but the laughter of these sneerers "has cost their country many a tear." In like manner, though his measures were happy ones, and his counsels of the most salutary kind, yet he used no flowers of rhetoric; his speeches were concise, commanding, and severe. For, as Zeno remarks, that a philosopher should never let a word come out of his mouth, which is not strongly tinctured with sense, so Phocion's oratory contained the most sense in the fewest words. And this it seems, Polyeuctus the Sphettian had in view, when he said; "Demosthenes was "the better orator, and Phocion the more per-"suasive speaker." His speeches were to be estimated like coins, not for the size, but for the intrinsic value. Agreeably to which we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people,

Phocion was observed behind the scenes wrapped up in thought; upon which one of his friends observed to him, "What! at your meditations, "Phocion?" "Yes," replied he, "I am me-"ditating, whether I cannot shorten what I have to "say to the Athenians." And Demosthenes who despised the other orators, when Phocion got up, used to whisper to his friends, "Here comes the "pruner of my periods." But, perhaps, this is to be ascribed to the excellence of his character, since a word or a nod, from a person revered for his virtue, is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, at that time the commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained likewise much military knowledge. In some degree he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times scarcely any thing could move him, in the moment of action was most impetuously vehement, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. This at last cost him his life, when he determined to get in before the other galleys to the isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of sword. Phocion, whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly, when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head

the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity to distinguish himself: and he made such use of it, that victory soon declared for the Athenians. This being the first victory, which they had gained at sea in a dispute with Greeks since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person, in whom they should one day find an able commander. The battle was won, during the celebration of the Great Mysteries; and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of Boëdromion.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, "If you send me against enemies, such a "fleet is too small; if to friends, a single ship is "sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner succeeded so well, as to return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, and at the same time put their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but after his death continued his attentions to all that had belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus he took peculiar pains, in order to form him to virtue; and though he found him very stupid and untractable, yet he still laboured to correct, as well as to conceal, his errors. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions, the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the gene-

ral, that at last he exclaimed; "O Chabrias, Cha-
"brias! what a return do I make thee for thy fa-
"vours, in bearing with the impertinences of thy
"son!"

He observed, that those who took upon them the management of public affairs made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides addressed the people from the rostrum, and proposed new edicts: while Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators but as generals, for he thought their fame more complete; each of these great men, to use the words of Archilochus, appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the Muse;

and he knew, that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects, which he had ever in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own or of preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for, the command; but he did not decline it, when summoned by the voice of his country. It is certain, he was elected general no less than forty-five times, without having once attended at the election; having been always appointed in his absence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised, that the people should set such a value upon Phocion,

who generally opposed their inclinations, and never said or did any thing with a view to recommend himself. For, as princes divert themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators merely by way of entertainment; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen and the man of the severest manners, who had most steadily combated their capricious humours and desires. This he scrupled not to avow; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing, "That the rest of the Athenians were "unanimous in their opinions, and that there was "only one man who dissented from them;" Phocion came forward and told them, "They need not "give themselves any trouble in seeking for this "refractory citizen, for he was the man who did "not like any one of their measures." And at another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends and said, "Have "I inadvertently let slip something wrong?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest, but he bade them apply to the rich: "I should be "ashamed," said he, "to give you any thing, and "not to pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the usurer Callicles. And, as they continued very clamorous and teazing, he told them the following tale: "A cowardly fellow once resol-"ved to make a campaign; but when he was set "out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down

" his arms and stopped. When the first alarm was " a little over, he resumed his march. The ravens " however renewing their croaking, he made a " full stop, and said; "You may croak your hearts " out if you please, but you shall never taste my " carcase."

The Athenians once insisted upon his leading them against the enemy, and when he refused, they told him, " Nothing could be more dastardly " and spiritless than his behaviour." He answered, " You can neither make me valiant, nor can I " make you cowards; but we know one another " very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and demanded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which he only said, " My " good friends, first get out of your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive; and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion, " He had " robbed them of a victory already in their hands," he replied, " It is happy for you that you have a " general who knows you; otherwise you would " have been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Bœotians, which they refused to settle by treaty and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said " Good peo- " ple, keep to the method, in which you have the " advantage: that is, talking, not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him a hearing. But he said, " Though you can make me act against my " judgment, you shall never make me speak " against it."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happened to observe, "The Athenians will "certainly kill thee, Phocion, some time or other:" he answered, "They may kill me, if they are "mad; but they will kill you, if they are in their "senses."

When Polyeuctus the Sphettian advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath and perspired so violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in this condition, thus addressed the assembly; "You have great reason to pass "an edict for the war, upon this man's recommen-"dation! For what may you not expect from "him, when under a load of armour he marches "against the enemy; if in delivering to you, "peaceable folks, a speech which he had com-"posed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffo-"cated!"

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly; and among the rest remarked, when Alexander demanded ten of their orators,* Phocion's having given it as his opinion, that they should be delivered to him. "It is true," said Phocion, "I have given "the people of Athens much good counsel, but "they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconistes by letting his beard grow long in the Lacedæmonian manner,

* For πολιτων we should here read πολιτικων, as a little above we should read πολιτικων instead of πολιτων. That they were orators, whom Alexander demanded, appears from Demosthenes.

wearing a thread-bare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his assertions much contradicted in the assembly, called upon this man to support the truth and rectitude of what he had said. Archibiades however ranged himself on the side of the people, and advised what he thought they would most like to hear. Upon which Phocion, taking him by the beard, said, "What is all this heap of hair "for? Cut it off, cut it off."

Aristogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and pressed them much to declare war. But when the lists of those selected, to serve were to be made out, this swaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion as he sat upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this form, called out to his secretary, "Put down "Aristogiton a cripple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them, that it seems strange a man of such austere and unpopular manners should ever have gotten the surname of the Good. It is indeed difficult, but I believe not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour: and, on the other hand, some men who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case, the saying of Hyperides to the people of Athens deserves notice: "Don't examine whether or "not I am severe upon you, but whether or not "I am so for my own sake." As if it were avarice only, that makes a minister odious to the people; and the abuse of power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge did not render him equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any one in his private capacity, or considered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly severe against every one, who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour in other respects was liberal, benevolent, and humane: he was always ready to assist, the unfortunate; and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends one day finding fault with him, for having appeared in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it, he said, "The good have no need of an advo-"cate."[9] Aristogiton the informer, being condemned and committed to prison, entreated the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he complied with the application. His friends dissuaded him from it, but he said, "Let me alone, good "people. Where would one rather speak to "Aristogiton, than in a prison?"

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with that people looked upon every such commander as an enemy; they strengthened their walls, closed their harbours, and conveyed their cattle, slaves, women, and children out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships with chaplets on their heads, and every expression of joy, and in that manner conducted him to their homes.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose sent in forces from Macedon, as well as practised upon the

[9] How does this, both in principle and expression, remind us of Him, who tells us (Mark ii. 17.) "They, that be whole, have no need of the physician!"*

towns by means of the petty princes. Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria[10] called in the Athenians, and implored them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians; in consequence of which, they at first sent Phocion with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them except treasonable designs, and disaffection to their own country; for they were almost universally corrupted by Philip's money. He therefore seized an eminence[11] separated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that post secured the best of his troops. As for the disorderly, talkative, and cowardly part of the soldiers, if they attempted to desert and steal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. "For," said he, "if they stay here, such is their "want of discipline, that instead of being ser-"viceable, they will be prejudicial in the time of "action; and, as they will constantly feel that "they fled from their colours, we shall not have "so much noise and calumny from them in "Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand to their arms, but not attempt any thing, till he had made an end of his sacrifice: and whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not easily find the auspicious tokens, or was desirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. In the mean while

[10] A town of Eubœa, *hod.* Negropont, situated upon the Euripus.*

[11] Instead of ἀποκεκριμένον, as it stands in the original text, we should read, ἀποκεκρημνισμένον. So says Du Soul: but we think ἀποκεκριμένον, 'sloping' or 'sloped', which is nearer the text, more likely to be the proper correction.

Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irresolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry seeing him in motion could wait no longer, but advanced against the enemy, though in a scattered and disorderly manner, as they happened to issue out of the camp. The first line being soon broken, all the rest dispersed, and Plutarch himself fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the entrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, supposing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that instant Phocion had finished his sacrifice, and the Athenians sallying out of the camp fell upon the assailants, routed them, and cut most of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main-body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover such as were dispersed in the first attack, while he with a select party went and charged the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued, both sides behaving with the utmost spirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, who fought near the general's person, distinguished themselves the most. Cleophanes, likewise, did great service in the action; for he rallied the cavalry and brought them up again, by calling after them, and insisting that they should come to the aid of their general, who was in danger. They returned therefore to the charge, and by the assistance which they gave the infantry, secured the victory.

Phocion after the battle drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himself master of Zaretra, a fort advantageously situated where the island draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each side by the sea. He did not choose however in consequence of his victory to take the

Greeks prisoners; lest the Athenians, influenced by their orators, should in the first motions of resentment pass some unjust sentence upon them.

After this signal success, he sailed back to Athens. The allies soon found the want of his goodness and justice, and the Athenians saw his capacity and courage in a clear light. For Molossus, who succeeded him, conducted the war so ill as to fall himself into the enemy's hands. Philip, now rising in his designs and hopes, marched to the Hellespont with all his forces, in order to seize at once on the Chersonese, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to send succours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commission to Chares. Accordingly he sailed to those parts, but did nothing worthy of the force, with which he was entrusted. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but under general suspicion he beat about, raising contributions where he could upon the allies, and at the same time despised by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other side, exasperated the people to such a degree, that they repented of having sent any succours to the Byzantians; upon which Phocion rose up, and told them, "They should not be angry at the suspicions of "the allies, but at their own generals, who did not "deserve to have any confidence placed in them. "For on their account," said he, "you are re-"garded with an eye of jealousy by the very "people, who cannot be saved without your assis-"tance." This argument had such an effect upon them, that they again changed their minds, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies on the Hellespont.

This contributed, more than any thing else, to

the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation stood already high: besides, Cleon a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the Academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer suffer him to encamp without, but opening their gates received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, delighted with this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation; for till then he had been deemed utterly invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several cities which he had garrisoned; and, making descents in various parts of his territories, harassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, happening to be wounded by a party that made head against him, he weighed anchor, and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians privately applied to him for assistance; and as he was afraid that the matter would transpire, and the Bœotians would prevent him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner sanctioned the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound as a signal for them to arm; after which, he immediately marched to Megara, where he was received with great joy. His first step was to fortify Nisæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and having little to fear from the

enemy on the land-side, was secured in the Athenian interest.

The Athenians being now in a state of decided hostility with Philip, the conduct of the war in Phocion's absence was committed to other generals. But upon his return from the islands he represented to the people that, as Philip was peaceably disposed and apprehensive of the issue of hostility, it would be more prudent to accept the proffered conditions. And when one of those public barretors, who spend their whole time in the court of Heliæa,[12] and make it their business to form impeachments, opposed him, and said; "Dare "you pretend, Phocion, to dissuade the Athenians "from war, now that the sword is drawn?" "Yes," replied he, "I dare; though I know thou "wouldest be in my power in time of war, and I "shall be in thine in time of peace." Demosthenes however carried it against him for war, which he advised the Athenians to make at the greatest distance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occasion to observe, "My good friend, "consider not so much where we shall fight, as "how we shall conquer. For victory is the only "thing, that can keep the war at a distance: If "we are beaten, every danger will soon be at our "gates."

The Athenians did lose the day;[13] after which, the most factious and troublesome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the hustings, and insist-

[12] For the solemn oath taken by the judges of this court see Potter, Archæol. Gr. I. xxi.*

[13] Plutarch alludes, most probably, to the fatal action of Chæronea, Ol. cx. 3. B. C. 338. Charidemus afterward took refuge at the court of Darius (See Quint. Curt. iii. 2.) and for the noble frankness, with which he pointed out the superiority of Macedonian steel to Persian gold, was by the order of that prince put to death.*

ed that he should have the command. This alarmed the real well-wishers of their country so much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their assistance; and it was not without many tears, and the most earnest entreaties, that they prevailed upon the assembly to place the administration in Phocion's hands.

His opinion was, that the other proposals of Philip should be readily accepted, because they seemed to be dictated by humanity: but when Demades moved, that Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the states of Greece, should have the same terms with the other cities, Phocion said; "This ought not "to be agreed to, till it was known what condi- "tions Philip required." The times were against him, however, and he was over-ruled. And when he saw the Athenians afterward repented, because they found themselves obliged to furnish Philip both with ships of war and cavalry, he remarked, "This was the thing, which I feared; "and my opposition was founded upon it. But "since you have signed the treaty, you must bear "it's inconveniences without murmuring or de- "spondency; remembering that your ancestors "sometimes gave law to their neighbours, and were "sometimes forced to submit, but did both with "honour, and thus at once saved themselves and "the rest of Greece."

When the intelligence of Philip's death [14] was brought to Athens, he would not suffer any sacrifices or rejoicings to be made upon that account. "Nothing," he said, "could evince greater mean- "ness of spirit, than expressions of joy on the "death of an enemy. What reason indeed is there

[14] B. C. 336.

" for it, when the army with which you fought
" at Cheronæa is lessened only by a single man?"

Demosthenes inveighed bitterly against Alexander, when he was marching against Thebes; the impolicy of this Phocion easily perceived and said,

" What boots the god-like giant to provoke,
" Whose arm may sink us at a single stroke[51]?"

" When you see such a dreadful fire near you,
" would you plunge Athens into it? For my part,
" I will not suffer you to ruin yourselves, though
" your inclinations tend that way; and to prevent
" such measures, is my object in taking the com-
" mand."

When Alexander had destroyed Thebes, he sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole assembly cast their eyes upon Phocion, and called upon him frequently by name. At last, he rose up; and standing by the side of one of his friends, who had the largest share in his confidence and affection, expressed himself as follows: " The per-
" sons, whom Alexander demands, have brought
" the commonwealth into such miserable circum-
" stances, that if he demanded even my friend
" Nicocles, I should vote for delivering him up.
" For my own part, I should think it the greatest
" happiness to die for you all. At the same time,
" I am not without compassion for the poor The-
" bans, who have taken refuge among us; but

[51] These words are addressed to Ulysses by his companions, in order to restrain him from provoking the giant Polyphemus, after they had escaped out of his cave, and got on board their ship. (Odyss. ix. 494.)

"it is enough for Greece to weep over Thebes, "[without weeping over Athens too.] The best "measure then which we can take is, to inter- "cede with the conqueror for both, and by no "means to think of fighting."

The first decree, drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies: but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who (as his old counsellors informed him) stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He therefore not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but even listened to his advice. This was to the following purport: "If tranquility was his object, to put "an end to his wars; if glory, to leave the Greeks "in quiet, and turn his arms against the barbari- "ans." In the course of their conference, he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander's disposition and sentiments, that his resentment against the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he even said, "The people of Athens must be ve- "ry attentive to the affairs of Greece; for, if any "thing happen to me, upon them will devolve the "supreme direction." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and paid him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris informs us that after he had risen by the conquest of Darius to superior greatness, and had omitted the word *chairein*, the common form of salutation in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody besides except Antipater. The same circumstance is also recorded by Chares.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money

was brought to Athens, Phocion demanded of the bearers, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, "he alone should be singled out as the object of "such bounty?" "Because," they replied, "Alex- "ander looks upon you as the only honest and "good man." "Then," said Phocion, "let him "permit me always to retain that character, as well "as to deserve it." After this, the envoys attend- ed him home; and when they saw the frugali- ty that reigned there, his wife baking bread, and himself drawing water and washing his own feet, they implored him the more urgently to receive the present. They told him, "It gave them real un- "easiness, and was indeed an intolerable thing, "that the friend of so illustrious a prince should "live in such a wretched manner." At that instant, a poor old man happening to pass by in a mean garment, Phocion asked them, "Whether they "thought worse of him, or of that man?" As they entreated him not to make such a compa- rison, he rejoined; "Yet that man lives upon "less than I do, and has enough still. In one "word, it will be to no purpose for me to have so "much money, if I do not use it; and if I do, I "shall bring both myself, and the king your "master, under the censure of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks that the man, who did not stand in need of such a sum was richer than he that could be- stow it.

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alex- ander wrote to Phocion, "That he could not "number those among his friends, who would "not receive his favours." Yet Phocion, even then, would not take the money. He desired the king, however, to set at liberty Echecratides the

sophist, and Athenodorus the Imbrian; as also Demaratus and Sparto two Rhodians, who had been apprehended for certain crimes, and detained in custody at Sardis. Alexander immediately granted his request; and afterward, when he sent Craterus into Macedon, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of the four Asiatic cities Cios, Gergethus, Mylassa, and Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged, if he refused this second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon afterward.

Phocion's house is shown to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with some plates of copper, but otherwise plain and homely.

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was the sister of Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron, not less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, prudence, and simplicity of manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to personate the queen, demanded a suitable mask (and attire), together with a large train of attendants richly dressed; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour and refused to make his appearance, by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in and said, "Thou seest Phocion's wife appear in "public with a single maid-servant; and dost thou "come hither to display thy pride, and to corrupt "our women?" As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her

house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which, the good matron said, "Phocion is my ornament, who is now call-"ed for the twentieth time to the command of "the armies of Athens[16].

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of the Panathenæa[17], and his father gave him leave, on condition that it was in the foot-races: not that he set any value upon the victory, but he did it, that the preparations and previous exercise might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw every thing prepared in the most extravagant manner; and among the rest, wine mingled with spices provided for washing the feet of the guests. He therefore called his son to him, and said, "Pho-"cus, why do you suffer your friend thus to sul-"ly the honour of your victory[18]?"

In order completely to correct in his son that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and placed him among the young men, who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it proved in what contempt

[16] The history of Rome, in the mother of the Gracchi, supplies a parallel and more notorious anecdote.*

[17] See Life of Theseus, vol. I. p. 31. and note.

[18] The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise, to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades one day said to him. "Why "do not we persuade the people, Phocion, to "adopt the Spartan form of government? If "you choose it, I will propose a decree for it, "and support it to the utmost of my power." "Yes indeed," replied Phocion; "it would "well become you, with all those perfumes and "that pride of dress about you, to launch out "in praise of frugality and Lycurgus."

Alexander wrote to demand from the Athenians a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. "I "am of opinion," said he, "that you should "either have the sharpest swords yourselves, or "keep upon good terms with those who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he first began to speak in public, had a torrent of words, and the most consummate assurance. Upon which Phocion said, "Is it for thee, who art but a novice "among us, to prate in this manner?"

When Harpalus had traitorously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked around him, in hopes of sharing the spoil. He gave to each of them some small taste of his wealth, but to Phocion he sent seven hundred talents; assuring him at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him under his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus "should repent it, if he continued thus to cor- "rupt the city;" And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days afterward a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken

his money, in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to serve him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus therefore again paid his court to him, and took every method to shake his integrity; but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. He subsequently applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and his success with him gave just cause of offence; for all the world saw how intimate he was with him, and that all his business passed through his hands. He even employed Charicles upon the death of his mistress Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, to get a superb monument erected over her, and for that purpose furnished him with enormous sums. This commission, dishonourable as it was in itself, became much more so by the manner in which he fulfilled it. For the monument is still to be seen at Hermus, on the road between Athens and Eleusis; and there appears nothing in it answerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in[19]. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last, Charicles was called to an account by the public for the money, which he had received from Harpalus; and he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in court. But Phocion answered, "I made

[19] Yet Pausanias says, it was one of the most complete and curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it stood on the other side of the river Cephisus. (L.) Hermus was an Attic borough, in the tribe Acamantis, situated not far from the Piræus.

" you my son-in-law only for just and honour-
" able purposes."

The first person, that brought the news of Alexander's death, was Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus. Demades desired the people to give no credit to it; "For," if Alexander " were dead," said he, " the whole world would " smell the carcase[20]." And Phocion, observing the Athenians elated and inclined to raise new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators however ascended the rostrum, and assured the people that Asclepiades' tidings were true: " Well then," said Phocion, " if Alexander is dead to-day, he will " be so to morrow and the day following; so " that we may deliberate upon that event at our " leisure, and take our measures with safety."

When Leosthenes by his intrigues had involved Athens in the Lamian[21] war, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he scoffingly asked him, " What good he had done his coun-
" try, during the many years that he was gene-
" ral?" " And dost thou think it nothing then," replied Phocion, " for the Athenians to be buried " in the sepulchres of their ancestors?" As Leosthenes continued to harangue the people in the most arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion

[20] This passage is commended by Demetrius Phalereus, as exhibiting at once the united beauties of emphasis, allegory, and hyperbole.*

[21] In the original it is the 'Grecian war;' and it might indeed be so called, because it was carried on against the Macedonians by the Grecian confederates. But it was commonly denominated the 'Lamian war,' from Antipater's being defeated and shut up in Lamia. The Bœotians were the only nation, which did not join the Grecian league (Diod. Sic. xviii. 8. 18).

said; "Young man, your speeches are like cy-
"press-trees, large and lofty, but without fruit."
Hyperides rose up and said, "Tell us then,
"when will be the proper time for the Athe-
"nians to go to war?" Phocion answered,
"When I see the young men keeping within the
"bounds of order and propriety, the rich liberal
"in their contributions, and the orators no longer
"robbing the public."

Most people admired the forces raised by Leosthenes; and when they asked Phocion his opinion of them, he said, "I like them very well for "a short race[22], but I dread the consequence of "a long one. The supplies, the ships, the soldi-"ers, are all very good; but they are the last, that "we shall be able to produce." The event justified his observation. Leosthenes at first, gained high reputation by his exploits; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this the Athenians, buoyant upon the tide of hope, spent their time in mutual entertainments, and sacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, likewise, they had a fine opportunity of rallying Phocion, and asked him, "Whether he should not have wished to have "achieved such great things?" "I certainly should," he replied, "but still I should have advised "not to attempt them." And when letters and messengers from the army came one after another, with accounts of farther successes, he said, "When shall "we have done conquering?"

[22] Or rather, "I think they may run very well from the "starting-post to the extremity of the course; but I know not, "how they will hold it back again." The Greeks had two sorts of races; the *stadium*, in which they only ran forward to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran forward to the goal and then back again.

Leosthenes died soon afterward; and the party which wished the war to be continued, fearing that if Phocion were elected general he would be for putting an end to it, instructed an obscure man to make a motion in the assembly importing; "That as an old friend and school-fellow of Pho-"cion, he desired the people to spare him, and "preserve him for the most pressing occasions, "because they had not another man to be com-"pared with him." At the same time, he was to recommend Antiphilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the proposal, Phocion stood up and told them, "He never was that man's "school-fellow, neither had he any acquaintance "with him; but from this moment," said he turning to him, "I shall number thee among my "best friends, since thou hast advised what is "most agreeable to me."

The Athenians were strongly inclined to prosecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocion at first as strongly opposed it. His friends represented to him, that this violent opposition of his would provoke them to put him to death: "They "may do it, if they please," said he: "It will be "unjustly, if I advise them for the best; but just-"ly, if I should prevaricate." When he saw, however, that they were not to be dissuaded, and that they continued to besiege him with clamor, he ordered a herald to make proclamation; "That "all the Athenians, who were not more than six-"ty years above the age of puberty, should take "five days' provisions, and follow him immedi-"ately from the assembly to the field"[23].

[23] Τες ἀχρι ἑξηκοντα ἐτων ἀφ' ἥβης has commonly been understood to mean 'from fourteen to sixty;' but from the following passage it appears, that it should be understood as we have

This raised a considerable tumult, and the old men began to exclaim against the order, and to walk off. Upon which, Phocion said, "Does "this disturb you; when I, who am four-score "years old, shall be at your head?" That short remonstrance had it's effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a strong corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the sea coast and the adjacent country, Phocion with a body of Athenians advanced against him. Upon this occasion, a number of them were very impertinent, in pretending to dictate or point out to him how to proceed. One counselled him to secure such an eminence, another to send his cavalry to such a post, and a third suggested such a place for a camp. "Hea-"vens!" said Phocion, "how many generals we "have, and how few soldiers!"

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he saw an enemy stepping forward to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his post. Upon which Phocion said, "Young man, aren't you "ashamed to desert your station twice in one day; "that in which I had placed you, and that in which "you had placed yourself?" He then immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle, though he had been joined by Leonatus and the Macedonians from Asia. In this action Antiphilus commanded the foot, and Menon the

rendered it. Ὁ γαρ Αγησιλαος, ὡς ετη τεσσαρακοντα γεγονως αφ' ἡβης, και τριτειας ἐχειν αφεσιν ὑπο των νομων.

(Vit. Ages. Ed. Bryan. iii. 396.)

Thessalian horse: Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this, Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought at Cranon[24], in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not considerable; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, who were commanded by young officers, that did not exert a proper authority. But this joined to the intrigues of Antipater among the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly toward Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able to any extent to answer the fines laid upon him; for he had been seven times amerced for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared infamous, and incapable of speaking in the assembly. But now finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that embassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man whom they could trust. Upon which he said, "If you had followed my counsels, we should not "have had now to deliberate on such an affair." Thus the decree passed, and Phocion was despatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea[25], and was preparing to enter Attica.

His first requisition was, that Antipater would

[24] A city of Thessaly Pelasgiotis, in the plains of Tempe.*

[25] Dacier without any necessity, supposes that Plutarch uses the word 'Cadmea' for Bæotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being so understood; but it appears obviously from what follows, that Antipater was then actually at Thebes, and probably in the Cadmea or citadel.

finish the treaty before he left his camp. Craterus said, it was an unreasonable demand, that they should remain there a burthen to their friends and allies, when they might subsist at the expence of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and said, "Let us indulge Phocion in this "particular." As to the conditions, he insisted that the Athenians should leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leosthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, with which they of necessity complied; and he then returned to Thebes with other embassadors, the principal of whom was Xenocrates the philosopher. For such were the virtue and reputation of the latter, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature so insolent, savage, and ferocious, as not to feel some impressions of respect and reverence at the sight of him. It happened, however, otherwise with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue: for he embraced the rest with great cordiality, but he would not even speak to Xenocrates; which gave him occasion to say, "Antipater does well in being ashamed before "me, and me only, of his injurious designs "against Athens."

Xenocrates afterward attempted to speak, but Antipater in great anger interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed[26]. To Phocion's

[26] Yet he had behaved to him with kindness, when he was sent to ransom the prisoners. Antipater, upon that occasion, took the first opportunity of inviting him to supper; and Xenocrates answered in those verses of Homer, which Ulysses addressed to Circe (Odyss. x. 383.) when she was pressing him to partake of the delicacies she had provided;

Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feasts.
Me would'st thou please? For them thy cares employ;
And them to me restore, and me to joy.

discourse however he gave attention, and replied that he should grant the Athenians peace, and consider them as his friends, upon the following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they "must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hype-"rides. They must next place their government on "the ancient footing, when none but the rich were "advanced to the great offices of state. A third "article is, that they must receive a garrison into "Munychia: And a fourth, that they must pay the "expenses of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these terms. That philosopher however said, "An-"tipater deals favourable with us, if he considers "us as slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us "as freemen." Phocion begged strenuously for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "We will grant "thee every thing, Phocion, except what would "be the ruin both of thee[27] and of ourselves." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whe-"ther, if he excused the Athenians on the subject "of the garrison, he would engage for their observ-"ing the other articles, and raising no new com-"motions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon surnamed Carabus, a violent man and an enemy to popular government, started up and exclaimed; "Antipater, why do you suffer this man "to amuse you? If he should give you his word, "would you depend upon it, and not abide by your "first resolutions?"

Antipater was so charmed with the happy application of these verses, that he released all the prisoners.

[27] As the Athenians had almost always, in their state of independence, proved ungrateful to their great public benefactors.*

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus a moderate man and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs[28]. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time at which the garrison entered; which was the twentieth day of the month Boëdromion, when they were celebrating the Great Mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances experienced in the ceremonies gave many occasion to reflect upon the difference of the divine dispensations, with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times: "Formerly," said they, "mystic visions were seen, and voices heard, "to the great happiness of the republic, and the "terror and astonishment of our enemies. But "now, during the same ceremonies, the gods look "down without concern upon the severest mis- "fortunes that can happen to Greece, and suffer "the holiest and what was once the most agreea- "ble time in the year, to be profaned and ren- "dered the date of our heaviest calamities."

A few days before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to secure the promontories of Diana[29] against stran-

[28] Our author, though in general a very able and refined politician, seems in this place to be out in his politics. For what, but a garrison, could have supported an oligarchy in a nation so much in love with popular government, or have restrained them from taking up arms the very first opportunity?

[29] Supposed to be poetically so called, because mountainous places and forests were generally sacred to that goddess. At least, we know of no promontories in Attica, that actually had that name. (See Callim. Hymn. Dian.)

gers. And about this time, on washing the sacred fillets with which they bind the mystic beds, instead of their usual lively purple they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private persons, which had been washed in the same water, retained it's former lustre. And as a priest was washing a pig in that part of the port called Cantharus[30], a large fish seized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly; by which the gods plainly announced, that they would lose the lower parts of the city next the sea, and preserve the upper.

The garrison commanded by Menyllus did no kind of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government was upward of twelve thousand. Such of these, as remained in Athens, appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and those who migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonæ, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which seemed almost inspired by affection[31].

[30] In the text it is ἐν καθαρῷ λιμένι, 'in a clean part of the harbour.' But we choose to receive the correction, which Florent. Christian has given us, in his notes upon Aristophanes' comedy of the 'Peace.' There were three havens in the Piræus; the principal of which was called 'Cantharu:' The other two were the Aphrodisium, and the Zeum. The passage in Aristophanes is:

Ἐν πειραιῶ δὲ πῶς; Κανθάρου λιμένι;

[31] The cruel disposition of Antipater, who had insisted upon Demosthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge,

The case was the same with them at this time, as it was afterward with the countryman upon Antigonus' death. Those who killed that prince and reigned in his stead were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peasant who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking, replied with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." So many of the Athenians now expressed equal concern, when they remembered the noble and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger had always been appeased: whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command, and in fact an oppressor and a tyrant. Yet, upon Phocion's request, he recalled many persons from exile; and to such, as he did not choose to restore to their own country, he granted a commodious situation; for instead of forcing them to reside like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains[32] and the promontory of Tænarus, he suffered them to remain in Greece and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agnonides, the informer.

In some other instances, likewise, he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and moderate manner; raising the modest and the good to the principal employments, and excluding the uneasy and the seditious from all offices, so that having no opportunity to excite

made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable. Calauria was an island situated at the extremity of the Saronic gulf; Cleonæ a city of Argolis.

[32] These were an extensive chain of mountains in Epirus. Tænarus was a cape in Laconia, *hod.* C. Matapan, near which was a cave, the [*Tænariæ fauces* of Virg. Georg. iv. 467, supposed to be the entrance to the infernal regions.*

troubles, the spirit of faction died away: and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Observing that Xenocrates was paying the stranger's tax, he proposed to give him his freedom: but he refused it, saying; "I will never become a "member of that government, the establish-"ment of which I was publicly delegated to "oppose."

Menyllus one day offered Phocion a considerable sum of money. But he said, "Menyllus is "not a greater man than Alexander; neither have "I greater reason now, than I then had, to receive "a present." The governor pressed him to take it, at least for his son Phocus; but he replied, "If "Phocus becomes sober, his father's estate will "be sufficient for him; and, if he continues disso-"lute, nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a most severe answer, when he wished him to do something inconsistent with his probity. "Anti-"pater," said he, "cannot have me both for a "friend and a flatterer." And Antipater himself used to remark, "I have two friends in Athens, "Phocion and Demades; it is impossible either "to influence the one, or to satisfy the other." Phocion indeed could produce his poverty, as a proof of his virtue; for, though he had so often commanded the Athenian armies, and had been honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence; whereas Demades paraded with his wealth, even in some instances of an illegal kind: for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the chorusses upon the stage under the penalty of a thousand drachmas, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades in his exhibition brought forward foreigners exclusively, to the number of a hundred, and paid the thousand drach-

mas' fine for each. And at the nuptials of his son Demea he observed, "When I married "your mother, the next neighbour hardly knew "it; but to the expence of your marriage, "kings and princes are contributors."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather that he perceived the people, under the fear of that rod, more sober and submissive to government, he always declined the commission. The only thing which he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money, which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be immediately advanced, but that a longer term should be granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not interfere in the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son set off to Macedon. It should seem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness, and when Cassander (now absolute master of every thing) had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedon, "which," he said, "hung "only upon an old rotten stalk;" so he contemptuously stiled Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be arrested: and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near him, that the blood spouted upon him, and filled his bosom; after which, having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidy, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Cassander the

command of a thousand men. But Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to sieze the supreme power; and immediately despatched Nicanor to take the command of the garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia, before the news of his father's death should have transpired. This scheme was carried into execution; and a few days afterward, the Athenians being informed of Antipater's death accused Phocion of having been privy to that event, and of having concealed it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it: on the contrary, he conversed familiarly with Nicanor, and by his assiduities not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition of distinguishing himself by exhibiting games and shows to the people.

In the mean time Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person had been committed [33], in order to countermine Cassander wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king re-"stored to them their ancient form of govern-"ment;" according to which, all the people had access to public employments. This was a snare laid for Phocion. For being desirous, as soon appeared from his actions, of making himself master of Athens, he was sensible that he could not effect any thing so long as Phocion remained in the way. He saw likewise, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were re-admitted, and the orators and public informers once more in possession of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among

[33] The son of Alexander by Roxana, who was yet very young; and who was subsequently with his mother, &c. put to death by Cassandra, see the Life of Alexander, p. 314. not. (198.)*

the people, Nicanor was desired to speak[34] to them upon this subject in the Piræus; and for that purpose he entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid a scheme to seize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his project guarded against it, and soon evinced that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Upon this, Phocion was blamed for having let him go, when he had him in his hands, but he answered; "He could confide in Nicanor's "promises, and saw no reason to suspect him of "any evil design. Be the issue however," he subjoined, "what it may, I had rather be found "suffering, than doing what is unjust."

This answer of his, if we examine it with respect to himself only, will appear to be entirely the result of fortitude and honour; but when we consider that he hazarded the safety of his country, and (what is more) that he was general and first magistrate, I know not whether he did not violate a stronger and more respectable obligation. It is in vain to allege, that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war, and for that reason would not apprehend Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of justice and good faith, with a view of inducing Nicanor by a grateful sense of such behaviour to be quiet, and abstain from injuring the Athenians. For the truth is, he had such confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from several hands of his designs upon the Piræus, of his having ordered a body of mercenaries to Salamis, and bribed

[34] Nicanor knew, that Polyperchon's proposal to restore the democracy was merely a snare, and he wished to open the eyes of the Athenians to his designs. See Diod. Sic. xvi.

some of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would not give them any credit. Nay, when Philomedes of the borough of Lampra got an edict made, that all the Athenians should take up arms and obey Phocion's orders, he never thought of acting upon it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. He would then, indeed, have led the Athenians against him; but by this time they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander the son of Polyperchon with an army, under pretence of assisting the city against Nicanor; but in reality to avail himself of it's fatal divisions, and to seize it if possible for himself. For the exiles who entered the town along with him, the foreigners, and the citizens who had been stigmatised as infamous, with other mean people resorted to him; and all together made up a strange disorderly assembly, by whose suffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and other generals appointed in his stead: And had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger, in which it was then involved. The orator Agnonides immediately singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedon and Pericles[35], that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as still adhered to him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Platææ and Di-

[35] 'Pericles' here, looks like an erroneous reading. We subsequently find not 'Pericles,' but 'Charicles,' mentioned along with Callimedon; and Charicles was Phocion's son-in-law.

narchus of Corinth, who were considered the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion desired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elatea[36]. In the mean time, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties reached Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king[37] near Pharuges, a town of Phocis situated at the foot of Mount Acrorium, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and before he proceeded to any other business, issued orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterward despatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agnonides pressed forward, and said; "Put us all into one cage, and "send us back to Athens, to render an account "of our conduct." The king laughed at the proposal; but the Macedonians who attended upon that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause; and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. It was far from being conducted, however, with impar-

[36] A city of Phocis.*

[37] This was Arrhidæus, the natural son of Philip. After some of Alexander's generals for their own purposes had raised him to the throne, he took the name of Philip, and reigned six years and a few months. See the Life of Alexander, and note above referred to.

tiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who was at last so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and would speak no more. Hegemon said, "Polyperchon himself could bear "witness to his affectionate regard for the people;" and that general answered, "Do you come hi- "ther to slander me before the king?" Upon this the king started up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his spear; but Polyperchon prevented him, and the council immediately broke up.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who being at some distance, muffled themselves up and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but in reality only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the business made it a still more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the Archons had assembled the people. From this assembly neither slaves, nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatised as infamous were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. The king's letter was then recited; the purport of which was, "That he had found the prisoners "guilty of treason; but that he left it to the "Athenians, as freemen who were to be govern- "ed by their own laws, to pass sentence upon "them."

At the same time, Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles began to weep. One of them, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so

" important a matter to the people, it would be " proper to command all slaves and strangers to " depart." But the populace, instead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, " It would be " much more proper to stone all the favourers " of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer any thing in Phocion's behalf. It was with much difficulty that he himself got permission to speak. At last silence being obtained, he said, " Do you " design to take away my life unjustly, or just- " ly?" Some of them answering, " Justly;" he said, " How can you know, whether it will be justly " or not, if you do not hear me first?" As he did not however find them in the least inclined to listen to him, he advanced some paces forward, and said: " Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge " that I have done you injustice, and for my " faults in the administration I adjudge myself " guilty of death[38]; but why will you put to " death these men, that have never injured you?" " Because," replied the populace, " they are " friends to you." Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree, which he had drawn up: according to this, the people were to pronounce by their suffrages, whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and, if guilty, they were to suffer death. When the decree had been read, some demanded an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution, and insisted that the rack and it's managers

[38] It was the custom for the person accused to lay some penalty upon himself. Phocion chose the highest, thinking it might serve to reconcile the Athenians to his friends, but he was disappointed.

should be immediately introduced. But Agnonides, observing Clitus displeased at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said; "When we take that "villain Callimedon, let us put him to the tor- "ture: but indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot "consent that Phocion should have such hard "measure." Upon this, one of the better-disposed Athenians cried out, "Thou art certainly "right; for if we torture Phocion, what must "we do to thee?" There was however hardly one negative, when the sentence of death was proposed: all the people gave their voices standing; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others who were absent, upon them likewise the same sentence was passed.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were ordered to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all, except Phocion, went on bewailing their fate. His countenance was the same, as when the people sent him out to command their armies, and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies indeed reviled him as he went along, and one of them even spit in his face; upon which he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will no body "correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament his hard fortune in suffering unjustly on Phocion's account. "What "then," said the venerable sage, "does it not "content you to die with Phocion?" One of his

friends asking him, whether or not he had any commands to his son; "Yes," said he, "by all means "tell him from me, to forget the ill treatment "which I have experienced from the Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, entreated that he would let him drink the poison before him; "This," said he, "Nicocles, is a hard "request, and the thing must give me great uneasiness; but, since I have obliged you in every instance through life, I will do the same "still."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved insufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve drachmas paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said; "Since one "cannot die gratis at Athens, give the man his "money." The execution occurred on the nineteenth day of Munychion, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears, as they looked at the prison-doors; and all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, considered it as most impious not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city during it's festival unpolluted.

The enemies of Phocion however, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, procured an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica, and that no Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile. No friend, therefore, durst touch it; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money carried the corpse out of the territories of

Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a cenotaph upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time, she thus addressed the domestic gods; "Ye guar-"dians of this place, to you I commit the re-"mains of this good man. Do you restore them "to the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the "Athenians shall once more listen to the dictates "of wisdom."

The interval was not long, before the situation of their affairs taught them, what a vigilant magistrate and guardian of the virtues of justice and sobriety they had lost. The people erected his statue in brass, and buried his remains at the public expense. Agnonides, his principal accuser, they put to death, in consequence of a specific decree for that purpose. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterward fell into the hands of Phocion's son, who punished them as they deserved. This son of his was, in other respects, a worthless man. He was in love with a slave, who belonged to a trader in such matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the atheist contend in the Lyceum, "That if it be no shame to ransom a friend, it "is no shame to redeem a mistress;" the discourse was so flattering to his passion, that he immediately went and released his female friend[39].

[39] It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their mistresses out of such shops; and, after they had released them from servitude, to marry them.

The proceedings against Phocion reminded the Greeks of those against Socrates, as in both instances equally unjust, and in their consequences to the city where they took place, equally calamitous [40].

[40] Socrates had been put to death eighty-two years before. B. C. 400. (L.) In his case, however, the Athenians showed greater reverence for their religious rites, by reprieving the illustrious convict till the return of their sacred vessel from it's annual voyage to Delos.*

THE

LIFE

OF

CATO THE YOUNGER.

SUMMARY

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CATO THE YOUNGER.

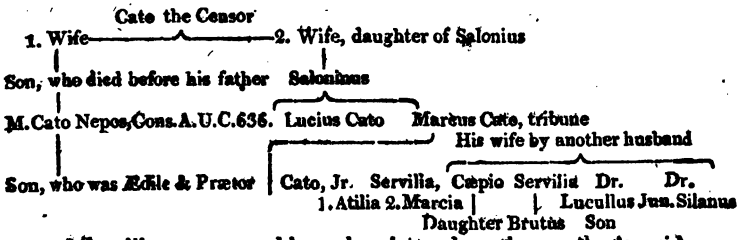
THE family of Cato had it's first lustre and distinction from his great grand-father, Cato the Censor, a man whose virtue (as we have observed in his Life) ranked him with persons of the high-

est reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio and his sister Porcia. He had also another sister called Servilia, but she was only his sister by the mother's side.[2] These orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration: an influence acquired by his extraordinary eloquence, eminent wisdom, and loftiness of spirit, in which he vied with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, look, and very diversions a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor any thing else could move. He pursued all his objects with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those, who were inclined to flatter him, were sure to meet with

[1] Cato the Censor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, the daughter of his own steward. The family from that second match, however, flourished when that derived from the first became extinct.

The genealogy, to which reference is made at the end of the Censor's life, is here given more in detail from A. Gell. xiii. 19.



[2] Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side. There were three of them: One, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, likewise, was his brother by the mother's side.

a severe repulse; and to those, who attempted to intimidate him, he was still more untractable. Scarcely any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly or easily moved to anger; but his resentment, when once excited, was far from placable.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; what he had once learned, however, he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is most laboriously gained is always best preserved; for every hard-earned acquisition of science is a kind of annealing upon the mind. The inflexibility of his disposition seems, also, to have retarded his progress in learning [3]. For, to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily, who have the least power of resistance. Thus the young are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than the healthful; and, in general, assent is most easily won from those, who are least able to find objections. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was enjoined; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why it was enjoined. His preceptor Sarpedon, indeed (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason, than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a soldier and of great authority among his people, had a friend-

[3] Δυσπιστον, 'slow to believe,' is the common reading; but Δυσπειστον, in which we are warranted by some MSS., agrees better with what follows.

ship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was very familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for this freedom." Cæpio smiled, and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And as he was observed to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popedius continued; "And you, my little man, what do you say? Won't you give your guests your interest with your uncle, as well as your brother?" Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Popedius took him to the window and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was about to let him fall. But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or apprehension, Popedius set him down, and whispered to his friends, "This child is the glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that we should not get a single vote among the people."[4]

At another time, when a relation invited young Cato with other children to celebrate his birth-day, the greatest part of them went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimic a court of justice[5], where some were accused in form, and afterward carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned

[4] Cato must at this time have been under four years of age. He was born B.C. 94. and Drusus, at whose house this affair took place, died B.C. 91. (See Suppl. Liv. lxxi. 34.)

[5] Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other countries, they are commonly formed upon

and shut up by a bigger boy in a closet, called out to Cato; who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and pushing away those who stood there as guards and attempted to oppose him, carried off the child and went home in anger, most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary instance: When Sylla wished to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of Troy,[6] and is considered as a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them two captains: one of these they easily accepted, on account of his being the son of Sylla's wife, Metella; but the other named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, and would not go out to exercise under him. Sylla then asking them, "Whom they "would have?" they unanimously cried out, "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship, which had subsisted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother

trifling subjects; but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and in later times the state of emperors. Suetonius informs us, that Nero commanded his young step-son Rufinus Crispinus (the son of Poppæa) to be thrown into the sea, because he was said to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind. (Ner. xxxv.)

[6] The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public circus by companies of boys, who were furnished with arms suitable to their strength. They were chosen, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome. See an excellent description of it, Virg. Æn. v. 545—603.

Cæpio, and to converse familiarly with them; a favour, which on account of his dignity he conferred upon very few. Sarpedon thinking such an intercourse a great advantage to his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay his respects to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of executions, such were the numbers of people there tortured and put to death. Cato who was now in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the by-standers sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, inquired of his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that "man?" "Because," he replied, "they fear him "more than they hate him." "Why then," said Cato "don't you give me a sword; that I may kill "him, and deliver my country from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and saw with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterward, to prevent his attempting some rash action.

When he was yet but a child, he was asked one day, "Whom he loved most?" and he answered, "His brother." The inquirer then asked him, "Whom he loved next?" and again he said, "His brother:" "Whom in the third place?" and his reply was still, "His brother:" and so on, till he discontinued his questions. This affection increased with his years; so that when he was twenty years old, if he supped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the Forum, Cæpio must be with him. But he would not make use of perfumes, as Cæpio did: the whole course of his life, indeed, was strict and austere; So that, when Cæpio was sometimes

commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these "virtues, as compared with other men; but, "when I compare myself with Cato, I seem a "mere Sippius." This was the name of a person, notoriously effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had been appointed to the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But, though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher; and the knowledge, which he was the most studious of acquiring, was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue by an impulse like that of inspiration; but his principal attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind, which is not to be moved by favour or compassion[7]. He cultivated, also, the eloquence suited to popular assemblies; for, as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, "the world finds fault with your silence;" he answered, "No matter, so long as it does not "find fault with my life. I shall begin to speak,

[7] Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a fine satire upon those maxims of the stoics, which Cato made the rule of his life, and which (as he observes) were only fit to flourish within the Portico. That sect indeed, by the rigour of their maxims, exemplified the *summum jus summa injuria*.

"when I can avoid speaking things, that don't "deserve to be heard."

In the public hall called the Porcian, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to hold their court. And as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing, that drew Cato to the rostra, and even then it was against his inclination. He effectually, however, opposed the design, and gave an admirable specimen both of his eloquence and his spirit. For there was nothing of youthful sallies, or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, and sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences, there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity, which might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which had a most agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength of utterance was so powerful and inexhaustible, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bare-headed in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. His friends who travelled with him made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one and sometimes another for conversation, as he went along. In times of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole

day alone, suffering no person to approach him, till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments, they threw the dice for the choice of the messes; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends generally offered it to him, but he always refused it; "Venus[8]," said he, "forbids." At first, he used to rise from table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over his wine. His friends excused him by saying, "That the business of the state "employed him throughout the day, and left him "no time for conversation, and therefore he "passed his evenings in discourse with the philoso-"phers." And, when one Memmius said in company, "That Cato spent whole nights in drink-"ing;" Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say, "that he spends whole days in gaming."

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to oppose the corrupt fashions, which then prevailed. He observed, for instance, that the richest and brightest purple was the most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner, bare-footed and without his gown. Not, that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really

[8] The most favourable cast upon the dice was called 'Venus.' (L.) To this Horace alludes, Od. iv. 18., III. vii. 25.; upon which latter passage Cruquius informs us, *in talario ludo, qui talis quaternis constabat, 'Venus' erat quando singuli tali diversa vultu apparebant; contra in tesserario ludo tribus tesseris ludebant, et numerus ter senarius summus erat jactus vel 'Venus.'* See a former note.*

shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.[9]

A large estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he converted it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and, when any of his friends wished to borrow a sum, he lent it to them without interest. If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own land and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He never knew any woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age for that state, he entered into a treaty with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio; but upon Scipio's having broken his engagement was then at liberty. Before the marriage however could take place, Scipio repented, and by his unremitting assiduities recovered the lady's favour. Provoked at this ill-treatment, Cato wished to apply to the laws for redress; and as his friends over-ruled him in that respect, youthful resentment impelled him to write some iambics against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus,[10] without his indelicate scurrility.

After this, he married Atilia the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this respect Lælius, the

[9] This principle, however, he carried too far: and there are few things which youth should be more carefully taught to distinguish than what is essentially vicious, and what may be innocently followed in the usages of the world.*

[10] This sarcastic writer, by his verses drove Lycambes, of whose daughter he had been disappointed in marriage, to hang himself. See Hor. Ep. I. xix. 25., A. P. 79. He was nearly contemporary with Romulus.*

friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he;[11] for in the course of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the Servile War,[12] I mean that with Spartacus, Gellius was general; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother Cæpio, who was at that time a tribune: but he could not distinguish his vivacity and courage as he wished, because the war was ill conducted. Amidst the effeminacy and luxury however which then prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and when occasion served behaved with so much spirit and valour, as well as coolness and capacity, that he appeared in no degree inferior to Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of distinguished military rewards and honours, but he would not accept or allow of them: "I "have done nothing," said he, "that deserves "such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law was enacted, that no man who solicited any office should take nomenclators[13] along with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for, when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by those by whom he was praised

[11] Plutarch seems to us to have spoken thus feelingly, from his own experience, of the happiness of the conjugal connection long continued with an affectionate wife.

[12] B. C. 73—71. See the Life of Crassus, vol. III. p. 423. not. (13.)

[13] —*Servum qui dictet nomina, lævum*
Qui fodiat latus, et cogat transpondera dextram
Porrigere.—— Hor. Ep. I. vi. 50.

Yet Cicero (pro Muren. xxxvi.) charges Cato with having his nomenclator! *Quid, quòd habes nomenclatorem!*

upon the occasion. The more they considered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commission he was sent into Macedon, where Rubrius the prætor had the command. His wife, upon his departure, was in great distress; and we are told that Munatius, one of his friends, in order to comfort her, said, "Cheerly, Atilia; I will take care of your "husband." "By all means," answered Cato. At the end of the first day's march, after they had supped, he observed, "Come, Munatius, that "you may the better perform your promise to "Atilia, you shall not leave me either day or "night." In consequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleasant improvement upon the matter; for as Munatius always slept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato who took care of him.

Cato carried along with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horseback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them, and conversed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this post, he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished singly by his own virtue; it was his ambition to make all the troops, that were under his care, like himself. With this view, he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in the support of reason to it's assistance. By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was hard to say whether his troops were more peaceable or more war-

like, more valiant or more just. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a dishonourable thing, and fearing nothing in pursuit of honest praise.

Hence, though honour and fame were not his objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in universal esteem, and had the entire possession of his soldiers' hearts. For, whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and his marching, he resembled the private more than the officer; and at the same time in virtue, in dignity of mind, and in strength of eloquence he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By these means, he insensibly gained the affections of his troops. And indeed virtue does not attract imitation, except the person who gives the pattern be beloved, as well as esteemed. Those, who praise good men without loving them, only pay a respect to their name, but do not sincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus and surnamed Cordylio, in high reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wished to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded, that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry his point. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his conversation he drew him from his purpose, and brought him back

with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this success, as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the east.

While he was with the army in Macedon, he received information by letter, that his brother Cæpio had fallen sick at Ænus[14] in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel could be procured. He ventured however to sail from Thessalonica in a small passage-boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. Upon this occasion, Cato showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and, beside these and other tokens of the deepest sorrow, he expended vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very costly, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the Forum at Ænus, which amounted to not less than eight talents.

Some condemned these things, as little congruous to the modesty and simplicity, which Cato in general professed; but they did not perceive, that with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations of pleasure, of terror, and of importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his na-

[14] Ænus, *hod.* Eno, was situated near the eastern mouth of the Hebrus: Thessalonica, mentioned below, was a Macedonian city, anciently called Therma, (*hod.* Saloniki) on the Thermaic gulf; and Thasus *hod.* Thapso, or Tasso, an island celebrated for it's quarries of variegated marble, opposite to the mouth of the Nessus off the southern coast of Thrace. (See Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 6.)*

ture. Many cities and princes sent presents of considerable value, in order to do honour to his obsequies, but he would not accept any thing in money. All that he would receive were spices and stuffs, and those too only on condition of paying their price.

He was left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter to his estate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expences to her account. Yet though he acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one[15] who scrupled not to assert, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might have been melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to any account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed his hands: instances of esteem, which few generals met with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to solicit a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with his own eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the same time he was desirous to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who on account of the engagements of hospitality that had subsisted between himself and Cato's father, had given him a most pressing invitation.

His manner of travelling was as follows:

[15] Julius Cæsar in his 'Anti-cato.'

Early each morning he sent his baker and his cook to the place, where he intended to lodge the ensuing night. These entered the town in a very modest and civil manner; and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they engaged lodgings for him, and prepared his supper at an inn, without giving any one the least trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and were always satisfied with those assigned to them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's servants, but entirely disregarded[16], because they did not come to the magistrates in a clamorous and threatening manner; so that their master frequently arrived, before they could procure lodgings. It was still worse, when Cato himself made his appearance; for the townsmen, seeing him seat himself on the luggage without speaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and dastardly spirit. Sometimes however he would send for the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why do "not you learn a proper hospitality? You will "not find all that apply to you, Catos. Do not "then by your ill treatment furnish those with "an occasion to exert their authority, who only "seek a pretence to take from you by violence, "what you give with so much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with a ludicrous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he saw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one side of the way stood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their best attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns upon their heads: these

[16] *Apparet servum hunc esse domini pauperis miserique.* Ter. *Eun.* iii. 2.

were the priests, and the magistrates. Cato, imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his servants, who had been sent forward, for not having prevented such a compliment. Nevertheless, he desired his friends to alight, and walked with them toward these Antiochians. When they were near enough to be spoken to, the master of the ceremonies, an elderly man with a staff and a crown in his hand, addressed himself first to Cato; and without so much as saluting him inquired, "How far Demetrius was behind, and "when he might be expected." Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of his, than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were seized with such a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themselves, as they passed through the crowd. Cato himself in some confusion cried out, "Alas poor city!" and said not another word. Afterward however he used always to laugh, whenever he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any more mistakes of this kind, for want of knowing Cato. For Cato on his arrival at Ephesus going to pay his respects to Pompey, as his superior in age and dignity, and as the commander of such large armies, Pompey, when he saw him at some distance, did not wait to receive him sitting, but rose up to meet him, and gave him his hand with the utmost cordiality. He said much likewise in commendation of his virtue, while he was present, and spoke still more freely in his praise upon his departure. Every one after this paid the highest attention to Cato, and he was admired for what

had previously exposed him to contempt; for they could now see, that his sedate and subdued conduct was the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence rather of respect, than of love; and that, though he expressed his admiration of him while present, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans, that came to see him, he pressed much to stay, and spend some time with him. To Cato he gave no such invitation; but, as if he had felt himself during his stay under some restraint in his proceedings, readily dismissed him. Of all the Romans however that returned to Rome, to Cato alone he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now flying before him, the cities in his way anxiously strove which should do him most honour by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. Upon these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends to look well to him, lest he should verify Curio's saying. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but disapproved his austerity, asked him one day; "Whether he meant to visit Asia, "when his time of service was expired?" Cato replied, "Yes, certainly." Upon which Curio said, "I am glad of that; you will return a little "more practicable:" using an expressive Latin word to that purpose.[17]

Deiotarus king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, had sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children and all his family to his protec-

[17] Supposed to have been *mansuetior*. As Cato understood it in a disadvantageous sense, we have rendered it by the word 'practicable', which conveys the same idea.

tion. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had proceeded a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a still greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them; "or if you re-"fuse for yourself," said Deiotarus, "at least "permit your friends to take them, who deserve "some reward for their services, and yet cannot "expect it out of your own estate." Cato however would give them no such permission, though he observed that some of them cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corrup-"tion," said he, "will never want a pretence: "but shall be sure to share with me, whatever "I can get with justice and honour." He, therefore, returned Deiotarus his presents.

When he was about to embark for Brundusium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel [18]; but he declared, "that "sooner than part with them he would part "with his life," and so set sail. This particular ship however, it is said, happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the Forum in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age [19] to offer himself

[18] From a prevalent superstition, that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word 'happened' just below, shows that he did not concur in this consecrated absurdity. (L.)

[19] From Middleton's Life of Cicero it appears, that the legal

for the quæstorship, he would not solicit it, till he had qualified himself for that office by studying all the laws relative to it, making inquiries of such as were experienced in it; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of it's whole intention and process. Immediately upon his entering on it, he introduced a considerable reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in; and as young quæstors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under-officers took upon them not only to instruct, but to dictate to them, and were in fact quæstors themselves; Cato corrected this abuse. He applied himself with great vigour to the business, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly understood every thing belonging to that department. Hence he made use of the secretaries only as servants, in their true capacity; sometimes correcting wilful abuses, and sometimes mistakes originating in ignorance. As the licence in which they had lived had rendered them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quæstors, they boldly withstood Cato. He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the division of an estate. Against another, he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor, a man whose authority was not only supported by his high office, but still more by his reputation; for, in justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished him-

age of becoming quæstor was thirty-one, ædile thirty-six, prætor thirty-eight, and consul forty-two. But Cato had not yet attained the lowest of these dates.*

self above all the Romans of his time. He was also a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct, yet in this cause he opposed him. Perceiving himself in the wrong, he had recourse to entreaties: but Cato would not suffer him to proceed in that manner, and as he did not desist, took occasion to say; "It would be a "great disgrace to you, Catulus, who are censor "and inspector of our lives and manners, to be "turned out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to have replied: he did not speak however, but either through anger or shame, went off silent and much disconcerted. Nevertheless, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices against him exceeded those for him only by one, Catulus desired the assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's collegue, who had been prevented by sickness from attending the trial; but upon this application was brought in a litter into court, and gave the casting voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By these means, he quickly rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself; and it was commonly thought, as well as said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate. For having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due from private persons to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons in return, he settled these affairs in such a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect;

strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state, and at the same time readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay who hoped never to have been called to account, and many receiving debts which they had renounced as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged; and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it, till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There had been a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla[20] had given twelve thousand drachmas for each head they brought him. These were considered by all the world as most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to bring them to justice. Cato, however, summoned all who had received the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund; inveighing at the same time, with equal reason and severity, against their impious and abominable deeds. Those wretches, thus disgraced and as it were prejudged, were afterward indicted for murther before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions; they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with it's instruments and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people were also delighted with his inde-

[20] See his Life, Vol. III. p. 234.

fatigable diligence; for he always came to the treasury before his collegues, and was the last that left it. There was no assembly of the people, or meeting of the senate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remissions of fines and duties, and all unreasonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers and all such vermin, and filled it with treasure, he showed that it was possible for the government to be rich without oppressing the subject. At first, this conduct of his was very obnoxious and odious to his collegues, but in time it became highly agreeable: because by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he incurred the rage of disappointed avarice for them all; and to the importunity of solicitation they were enabled to reply, that they could do nothing without the consent of Cato.

The last day of his office, he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens. But, he was informed on the way that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence with Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order for sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus from his childhood had been the friend of Cato and a good quæstor while he acted with him; but when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato therefore immediately turned back, and finding that Marcellus had already suffered himself to be prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the registers and erased it, Marcellus all the while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he led him out of the treasury, and took him

to his own house. Marcellus however did not complain, either then or afterward, but continued the same friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quæstorship was expired, Cato still turned a vigilant eye toward the treasury. He had his servants there, daily minuting down the proceedings; and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own, a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, he was the first to attend, and the last to withdraw; and frequently, while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit down and read, holding his gown before his book; neither would he ever be out of town, when there was a general summons of attendance. Pompey, finding that in all his unwarrantable attempts he must find a severe and inexorable opponent in Cato, whenever he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cause of some friend to plead, or some arbitration or other business to call off his attention. But Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring that, when the senate was to sit, he would never undertake any other concern. For his attention to the affairs of government was not, like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to mere chance or humour; but he thought a good citizen ought to be as solicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive. For this reason he desired his friends, and others with whom he had connections in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, important decisions, and all other principal business there transacted.

He made a point of opposing Clodius, the sedi-

tious demagogue, who was always bringing forward some dangerous law or change in the constitution, or accusing the priests and vestals to the people. Among the rest Fabia Terentia, the sister of Cicero's wife, and one of the vestals, was impeached, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cause of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in extreme confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to return him thanks, he said, "You "must thank your country, whose service is the "spring that guides all my actions."

His reputation became at last so great, that a certain orator in a cause where only one witness was produced, said to the judges, "The evidence "of a single man is insufficient, even if that man "were Cato." It grew indeed into a kind of proverb, when people were speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not "believe it, on the authority even of Cato him-"self."

A man profuse in his expences, and in all respects of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Amnæus rose up and said, "Who "can endure to hear a man that eats and drinks "like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, pretend-"ing to talk like Cato?[21]" Hence others, who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called 'Catos.'

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. He said, "He considered an office of such power

[21] —*Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt*, (Juv. ii. 3.) See the Life of Lucullus, vol. III. p. 335. where this reproof is ascribed to Cato.

" and authority as a violent medicine, which ought " not to be used except in cases of necessity." As at that time he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers along with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had an estate and an agreeable country-retreat. By the way he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants belonging (as he found) to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand: he remained for some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, he said; "Know " ye not that Metellus is formidable, even in his " stupidity? He now follows the counsels of " Pompey; the state lies prostrate before him; " and he will fall upon it, and crush it with the " force of a thunderbolt. Is this, then, a time " for the pursuit of rural amusements? Let us " rescue our liberties, or die in their defence!" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and, after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early the next morning went to the Forum, to offer himself as a candidate for the tribuneship in opposition to Metellus: for to oppose is the nature of that office, and it's power is chiefly negative; insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to annul a measure, in which the whole assembly beside has concurred.

Cato was, at first, attended only by a small number of his friends; but as soon as his intentions became public, he was immediately surrounded by all the men of honour of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as

it might imply a favour conferred upon himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: observing at the same time that, though it had been frequently in his power to have obtained this office without the trouble of opposition, yet he now stepped forth, regardless not only of that trouble but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people pressing around him, that it was with the utmost difficulty he made his way to the Forum.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus among the rest, he observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. Upon this subject, he concluded a severe charge to the people by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one who should offend in that way. He took care however that Silanus[22], who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. But against Muræna, who by means of bribery had carried the consulship at the same time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the person impeached has power to set a guard upon his accuser, that he may have no opportunity of supporting a false accusation by private arrangements before the trial. When the

[22] From this passage it would appear, that Plutarch supposed Cato capable of sacrificing principle to family-connections. It was not thus that Phocion felt, when he refused to screen Charicles, and said; "I made you my son-in-law only for just and "honourable purposes." See p. 452. But the fault lies rather in the historian, than in the tribune. For, is it to be supposed, that the rigid virtue of Cato should have descended to the most obnoxious circumstances of predilection? It is not possible to have a stronger instance of his integrity, than his having refused the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with ill consequences to the state.

person, who had been appointed Muræna's officer upon this occasion, observed the liberal and candid conduct of Cato, and that he sought only to support his information by fair and open evidence, he was so struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the Forum or at his house, and after inquiring whether or not he intended to proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then consul and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleasant things against the Stoics and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small mirth among the judges; upon which Cato only observed with a smile, to those who stood next to him, that Rome had indeed a most laughable consul[23]. Muræna acted a creditable and judicious part, with regard to Cato; for when acquitted of the charge which he had brought against him, he consulted him upon all occasions of importance during his consulship, respected him for his sense and virtue, and indeed showed him every mark of honour and confidence throughout the whole of his administration. Cato, on the bench and in council, was the most rigid dispenser of justice; but, in private society, he was affable and humane.

Even before he was appointed tribune in Cicero's consulship, he supported that magistrate in a most seasonable manner, by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline,

[23] The French and English translators have it, 'a pleasant consul.' But that does not convey the sarcasm that Cato meant. "*Ridiculum est, quod risum facit.*" On 'the paradoxes of the Stoics,' see Cic. Parad.

This man, it is well known, meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state; but, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without having effected his purpose. Lentulus and Cethegus however, with the rest of the conspirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves at least more effectually. Their scheme was to burn the city, and destroy the empire by the revolt of the colonies and by foreign wars. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero (as we have observed in his Life) called a council; and the first that spoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conspirators should be punished with the utmost rigour. His opinion was adopted by the rest, till it came to Cæsar. This eloquent man, whose ambitious principles it suited rather to encourage than to suppress innovations and disturbance, urged in his usual persuasive manner the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial, and that they should only be taken into custody. The senate, who were under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this measure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he meant nothing more than imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment which a Roman citizen could suffer.

This change of sentiments in those who spoke first was followed by the rest, who all strongly recommended milder measures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended it with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in having changed his resolution. He attacked Cæsar, and charged him with a secret design of subverting the

government, under the plausible appearance of mitigatory speeches and humane conduct; and of intimidating likewise the senate, even in a case where he had to fear for his own person and in which he might deem it an instance of great good fortune, if he himself could be exempted from every imputation and suspicion of guilt—He, who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state, and shown, that far from having any compassion for his country when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the unnatural wretches who had meditated it's ruin, and grieve that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato extant. Cicero had selected a number of the quickest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers.[23] Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, in conformity to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the least circumstance, that may contribute to mark them, ought not to escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected him, and charged him with some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should

[23] Dacier thinks that these 'short-hand writers' were first employed by Cicero, during his consulate, in the cause of Murena: others refer the discovery of the art to his freedman Tiro.*

be read aloud. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it, than he perceived it to be in the hand-writing of his own sister Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar and had been debauched by him. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate among the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar, and his other sister Servilia was in still worse repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom she also had a son, she had been divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most disgraceful to Cato was, that the conduct of his own wife Atilia was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Atilia, he married Marcia the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plot in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraseas[24], upon the authority of Munatius (Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him) gives us the following account of the matter: Among the friends and acquaintance of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Of this class Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness, was one. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family-alliance with him; and for this purpose scrupled

[24] The celebrated Thraseas Pætus, upon whom Tacitus pronounces such a noble panegyric Ann. xvi. 21. wrote the Life of Cato; see Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 26. He was put to death by Nero.*

not to request that his daughter Portia, who was already married to Bibulus, and had two children by him, might be lent him, as a fruitful soil for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper. For why should a woman in the flower of her age either continue useless, till she is past child-bearing, or overburthen her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women (he added) in virtuous families would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the intercourse of society. Besides, if Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored, after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the highest regard for Hortensius' friendship, but he could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not suffer the matter to rest here; but when he found he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, alleging that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already sufficiently large. This request he could not possibly have urged, upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination which Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him; but said, it was necessary to consult Marcia's father, Philip, upon the occasion. To Philip, therefore, application was made, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato.[25] These cir-

[25] This transaction is so well attested by other (some of them contemporary) authors, that we can only admit and lament it;

cumstances are not related in the proper order of time; but, speaking of Cato's connection with the women, I was led to mention them.

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar (who, on account of the charges brought against him in the senate, was obliged to throw himself upon the people) had infused a spirit of insurrection into the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free-gift of corn. This cost twelve hundred and fifty talents a year; but it had the desired effect[25].

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his real design was, to surrender the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, mildly expostulated with him and had even recourse to entreaty; intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever supported the interests of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent upon that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the se-

as an undoubted and most infamous fact. See Ricauld, Observ. Crit. 25.*

[25] This is almost one-third more than the sum, said to have been expended in the same distribution in the Life of Cæsar; p. 328, and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expense, the policy was bad; for nothing more effectually weakens the hands of government than this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurses do froward children.

nate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato were changed in a moment; and with all the force of eloquence he declared, "That "while he was living, Pompey should never en- "ter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of that of Metellus. The latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than the general destruction and confusion of the state. The virtue of Cato they regarded as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to the adoption of violent measures in the cause of justice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and slaves armed by Metellus appeared in the Forum. He was followed also by several of the commons, who were solicitous to introduce Pompey in the hope of a revolution: and his cause was strengthened by the prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in it's removal. The danger to which he was exposed appeared now so imminent, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself spent the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped, and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly, till awaked by his collegue Minutius Thermus. He then went to the Forum accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor sur-

rounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, he turned round to his friends, and asked "which, is the more contemptible; "the savage disposition, or the cowardice, of him "who brings such an army against one naked "and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those that occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty he drew along with him; and as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that so he might prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little, and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato received from all the honest men then present; who, while they admired the firm and steady spirit so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and, that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to repeat it from memory; but Thermus prevented him, by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found that too ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Muræna, though Cato had so lately laid an information against him, would not desert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed, entreated the mob to desist from their violence, and

at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. Metellus finding the benches deserted, and his adversaries put to the rout, he imagined that he had gained his point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The opposition however quickly rallied, and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus' faction, supposing that by some means they had procured arms, were thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and by his encouragement and applause established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate likewise voted, that Cato should at all events be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with every thing pernicious to order and good government, and which had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost vigour.

Metellus, however, still maintained his daring resolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said every thing which he thought might render Cato odious to them; declaring, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this, he immediately set off for Asia, to carry an account of these matters to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him the growing power of that general, obtained the highest reputation. But what rendered him still more popular, was his having prevailed upon the senate to desist from their purpose of vot-

ing Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation, in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; while men of political sagacity could see, that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too deeply.

Soon afterward, Lucullus returned from the war, of which Pompey had the winding up and the glory, and being rendered obnoxious to the people by the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than from any personal hatred, incurred the risk of losing his triumph. Cato however, partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, resisted Memmius, and thus exposed himself to extreme obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had still credit enough to banish Memmius from the courts and from the lists. Lucullus therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome from the magnificent receptionwhich he had every where experienced, he scrupled not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, in order that he might support Piso. While they were hesitating about the matter, Cato, not from any excessive solicitude about deferring the election, but with a view of intercepting the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against the measure and carried it in the negative. At this, Pompey was not a little disturbed; and concluding that, if Cato were his enemy, he would prove the

most formidable obstacle to his designs, he sent for his friend Munatius, and commissioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say, they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may, when Munatius opened his commission to Cato in the presence of his wife and sisters, the women were not a little delighted with the splendor of the alliance. But Cato without a moment's hesitation replied, "Go, Munatius; go, and tell Pompey, that Cato "is not to be caught in a female snare.[27] Tell "him, at the same time, that I am sensible of the "intended honour; and, while he continues to "act as he ought to do, shall cherish that friend-"ship for him which is superior to affinity: but "I will never give hostages, against my country, "to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to suppose, were chagrined: and even the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his answer. But Pompey soon afterward gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open and notorious bribery at a consular election, when money was publicly paid in his garden to such of the tribes, as gave their votes to his friend.[28] "You see now," said Cato to the women, "what "would have been the consequence of my alli-"ance with Pompey. I should have had my "share in all the aspersions, that are thrown up-"on him." And they owned, that he had acted right in declining it. If it were proper, however, to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato acted wrong upon this occasion. By suffering the alliance in question to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two illustrious

[27] Literally, 'not to be circumvented through the apartment of the ladies.'

[28] Lucius Afranius. See the Life of Pompey, p. 123.

men nearly overturned the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, alarmed even at the slighter faults of Pompey, suffered him by thus strengthening his hands to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were at this time only impending.

When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus (for each was anxious to have his own sanctioned) as the former was evidently injured, he had the support of Cato; while Pompey his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. This was opposed by Cato, and rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes, and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato in some measure led the way. The thing was as follows: Cæsar, upon his return from Spain, at once sued for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required, that those who are candidates for the supreme magistracy should make personal application, and those who are to enjoy a triumph should remain without the walls, he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate in general agreed to his request; and when Cato (the only one that opposed it) found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he continued his speech throughout the whole day, and thus prevented the completing of any business. Cæsar therefore gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as

they had entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed, and the other seconded, laws for the distribution of lands among the poor. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus the other consul, opposed them. But Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connection with Pompey, was strenuous against the motion; and observed, it was not the distribution of lands that he feared, so much as the rewards, which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favour.

In this, not only the senate agreed with him, but many of the people also, who were offended by Cæsar's unconstitutional conduct. For whatever the most violent and absurd of the tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar in mean and abject subservience to them ratified by the consular authority. When he found his motion therefore likely to be over-ruled, his party had recourse to violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, and broke the rods of his lictors. At length, when darts began to be thrown and many were wounded, the rest of the senate fled as fast as possible out of the Forum. Cato was the last, that left it; and as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the madness of the people. The Agrarian law therefore was not only passed, but they obliged the whole senate to take an oath that they would confirm and support it, and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the measure; for they remembered the example of Metellus,[29] who had been banished from Italy for refusing to comply, in a similar instance, with the wishes of the people. Cato

[29] Metellus Numidicus. See Life of Marius, vol. III. p. 104.

was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally prevailed upon him was, the expostulations of the orator Cicero; who represented to him that there might be less virtue, than he imagined, in one man's dissenting from a decree established by the rest of the senate; that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity; and (what was still worse) to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone so many toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were quite weary of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome, but Rome could not do without Cato; his friends could not do without him; he himself in particular could not do without his assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius by means of his tribunitial authority was forming the most dangerous machinations against him. By these, and the like remonstrances, importuned at home and in the Forum, Cato (it is said) was with difficulty induced to take the oath; and his friend Favonius excepted, he was the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania among the poor. Cato alone opposed it. And though Cæsar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to prison, he omitted not nevertheless, as he passed to exclaim in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a stop to such proceedings. The senate with heavy hearts, and all the virtuous part of the people, followed Cato in silent indignation. Cæsar

was not inattentive to the public discontent, which this proceeding occasioned; but ambitiously expecting some concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length however, when he found his expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame to which this conduct exposed him, he instructed one of the tribunes to rescue him from his officers. The people notwithstanding, brought over to his interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years; though Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order) a tribune of the people, because they knew that he would fully accede to their wishes with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piso the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius[30] a minion of Pompey as we are told by those who knew him best, they created consuls.

Yet though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, they were still afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains, which it had cost them to overbear him, and that their violent measures had done them but little honour. Clodius likewise saw that he could not distress Cicero, while supported by Cato: yet this was his chief object, and upon entering on his tribunitial office he had an interview with Cato; when after paying him the compliment of pronouncing him the honestest man in Rome, he proposed to

[30] The character of Gabinius was despicable in every respect, as appears from Cicero's Oration for Sextius. (xii., xliii.)

him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which (he said) had been solicited by many. Cato answered that, far from being a favour, it was a scheme of treachery and a disgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely and contemptuously replied, "If you are "not pleased to go, you shall go displeased:" and, immediately applying to the senate, procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither furnished him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant; two secretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Besides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the opposition of Ptolemy were not a sufficient employment, he ordered him likewise to restore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato, as long as possible, out of Rome.

Cato thus obliged to depart exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he sent before him to Cyprus, he negociated with Ptolemy in such a manner, that he yielded without coming to an engagement; for Cato gave him to understand, that he should not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he should be appointed high-priest to the Paphian Venus.[31] While this

[31] This appointment seems but a poor exchange for a kingdom: but when it is remembered that, in the Pagan theology, the priests of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that most of them were of royal families; when it is considered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus stood among the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her priest must have been, from the offerings of the innumerable votaries who came annually to pay their de-

was negociating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's answer, and making preparations for the reduction of the island.

In the mean time Ptolemy[32] king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria upon some quarrel and difference with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in the hope that he would wait upon him; But Cato, who at that time happened to have taken physic, told his messenger that if Ptolemy wished to see him, he might come himself: and upon his arrival he neither went forward to meet him nor did he so much as rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would have done a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. When he entered into conversation with him however, concerning his affairs, and heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily soothed. Cato, it seems, censured his impolitic application to Rome; represented to him the happiness which he had left, and told him that he was about to expose himself to the toils and plagues of attendance, the meanness of bribery, and the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt converted into money could not satisfy. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the same time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy,

votions at her temple, it will be allowed perhaps that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little island.

[32] Surnamed Auletes.

restored by his statements as it were from insanity to reason, admired his discretion and sincerity, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome, than he repented his folly, and blamed himself for having rejected the virtuous counsels of Cato, as for having disobeyed the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good fortune would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato having determined to go to Byzantium sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius; and when the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus himself. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was scrupulously exact, attended at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought every article to the best market. Neither would he trust to the common customs of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but he had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid more, so that every thing went off at the highest price. By these means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost unpardonably affronted his particular intimate Munatius. Cæsar likewise, in his Oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius himself however informs us, that this misunderstanding was occasioned not so much by Cato's distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius:

for Munatius wrote Memoirs of Cato, which Thraseas has principally followed. He there states that he was among the last who arrived at Cyprus, and thus found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato, who observed (with Theophrastus) that "Too much love "was frequently the occasion of hatred; and that he, "because of the friendship with which he had been "treated, was angry at the slightest inattention." "He told him at the same time, that "He made "use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because "he had more confidence in him than in the rest; "having found him honest, though he had been "there from the first, and had had opportunities of "being otherwise." This conversation, which he held in private with Cato, the latter (he informs us) related to Canidius; and this coming to his knowledge, he would neither attend Cato's entertainments, nor assist when summoned at his councils. Cato threatening to punish him for disobedience, and as is usual to take a pledge from him[33], Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her husband, he and Munatius were both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the rest of the company had taken their places, asked where he should take his? Barca

[33] When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of his house, and to detain it till he attended. This they called, *pignora capere*, ἐνέχυρα λαζειν. (See Cic. Philipp. i. 5., De Orat. iii. 1.)

answered, "Where he pleased." "Then," said he, "It shall be by Munatius." He therefore sat down next him, but showed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterward however, at Marcia's request, Cato wrote to say that he should be glad to see him. Upon this, Munatius waited on him at his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the rest of the morning-visitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with the utmost kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer as, in our opinion, they contribute not less than more public and important actions, to the clear delineation and exhibition of character.

In this expedition Cato had acquired nearly seven thousand talents of silver, and being under some apprehensions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of vessels that would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas a-piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a large piece of cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the vessel, these buoys might mark the spot where they lay. The whole treasure however, except a very little, was conveyed home in safety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept with great minuteness, were both lost; one by shipwreck with his freedman Philargyrus, who had embarked at Cenchreæ,[34] and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This gave Cato some concern; though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were

[34] Cenchreæ was the eastern port of Corinth: and Corcyra is the modern Corfu.*

sufficient vouchers for his conduct against enemies and informers. For he did not intend these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates, and priests, and whole senate, with multitudes of the people, went down to the river to meet him, and covered both it's banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtiness in his conduct; for though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets; and the senate in full assembly bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary[35], and the right of attending public shows in a prætexta (or purple-bordered gown:) but these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would emancipate Nicias, one of Ptolemy's officers, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony.

Philip, the father of Marcia, was at that time consul, and his collegue respected Cato no less for his virtue, than Philip did for his alliance, so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest

[35] A. U. C. 697. Cato was then in his thirty-eighth year, and consequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter upon that office till he was forty (see Dio. xxxix. 23., and Val. Max. vii. 5.) though he could canvas for it at thirty-nine.

in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile, to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable; and he scrupled not, in Clodius' absence, to pull down and destroy the tribunitial edicts, which the latter had put up in the capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero on Clodius' accusation made his defence, alleging that he had not been legally appointed tribune, and that consequently every act and edict of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, "That he was indeed sensible, the "whole administration of Clodius had been wick-"ed and absurd; but that if every act of his office "were to be annulled, all that he had himself done "in Cyprus would be annulled likewise, because "his commission issuing from a tribune not legally "appointed could not be valid: that Clodius, "though he was of a patrician family, had not been "chosen tribune contrary to law, because he had "previously been enrolled in the order of plebeians "by an act passed for that purpose; but that, if he "had acted unjustly in his office, he was liable to a "personal impeachment, while at the same time the "office itself retained it's proper force and autho-"rity." This occasioned a quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but they were afterward reconciled.

Cæsar, upon his return from Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus; and it was agreed that the two last should again be candidates for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues and troops should be secured to themselves. This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth. A junction so alarming deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity

from their design of offering themselves for the consulship. Cato however prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who had married his sister, not to give up the point nor to resign his pretensions; since the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed, likewise, that the consular power should not be suffered to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey; but that at all events they must be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him, at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people, who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torch-light into the Campus Martius. His torch-bearer was killed at the first stroke; the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted: for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still kept Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of freedom while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of power by seeking it in such an execrable manner.

Domitius however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato did not shrink from the struggle, but solicited a prætorship for himself; that he might thence, as from a kind of fort, act against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, fearing that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate; and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors

should immediately enter upon their office,[36] without waiting the usual time to see whether any charge would be brought against them of bribery and corruption. By these means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, presided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Still, however, the virtue of Cato could not totally lose it's weight. There were still those, who had honesty enough to be ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that it would be of service to the state, to elect him even at the public expense. He was therefore nominated prætor by the votes of the first-summoned tribe[37], but Pompey scandalously pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the assembly; for it is not common with the Romans to transact public business, if it thunders. Afterward by means of bribery, and by the exclusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, like so many culprits immediately ran away. To the rest, that assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to address himself in a speech; in the course of

[36] There was always a time allotted between nomination and possession; that, if any undue means had been used in the canvas, they might be discovered. (L.) The convicted offenders were deprived of their appointments, and occasionally subjected to a heavy fine. (See Dio. xxxvi. 27., xxxvii. 25.) Cato was now only of age to solicit, not to exercise the prætorship.*

[37] Called *prærogativa*. The centuries originally gave their votes in succession according to Servius Tullius' institution, but subsequently the priority of voting was determined by lot: this was of the greatest importance, for upon it usually depended the election. Hence the derivative meanings of *prærogativa*. (See Cic. pro Planc. xx., pro Muren. xviii. &c., De Div. ii. xl.)*

which he foretold, as if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth, and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who in the consciousness of their guilty intentions feared the control of the prætorial power of Cato. On his return home he was followed by a greater multitude, than all that had been appointed prætors conjunctively.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unbounded power of making war and extending dominion; the rest of the senate, thinking resistance vain, forbore all opposition. Cato however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the rostrum in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours; and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions, and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor dragged him down from the rostrum. Yet still, when below among the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the lictor again laid hold of him and turned him out of the Forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius in a violent rage ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till at last Trebonius through fear dismissed him. Thus Cato was that day rescued. But afterward, the people being partly over-awed and partly corrupted, the consular faction prevented Aquilius one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the

assembly; wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the Forum: so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious, that the people were going to pull down his statues, but they were prevented by Cato. On a subsequent day, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato addressing himself particularly to Pompey told him, with great confidence, "He did "not then consider, that he was taking Cæsar upon "his shoulders; but when he began to find his "weight, and could neither support it nor shake "him off, they would both fall together, and crush "the commonwealth in their fall: and then he "would find, too late, that Cato's counsels were no "less salutary for himself, than intrinsically just." Yet Pompey, though he had often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe and shoes, and thus sit in judgement even in capital cases, upon some of the first personages in Rome. Nay, it is even affirmed that he passed sentence, when he had drunk after dinner, but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption, which then prevailed among the people in elections of every kind; and, in order to effect this, he moved that a law should be passed in the senate for every candidate, though no information should be laid against him, to declare upon oath in what manner he had obtained his

election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people: And as he was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamors and disorders of the populace; so that, when he spoke upon the subject, he was heard with a general silence.[38] The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for having deserted the prætor, and declined to assist him when in manifest danger. This measure considerably distressed the candidates: for on one hand they were afraid of giving bribes, and on the other they were apprehensive of losing their election, if bribes should be given by their opponents. They thought it best therefore jointly to deposit five hundred sestertia each,[39] then to canvass in a fair and legal manner, and that if any one should be convicted of bribery, he should forfeit his deposit. Of this agreement Cato was appointed guarantee, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for that he accepted sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune who presided, and as he

[38] This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage in Virgil. The laboured dignity and weight of the fourth line, in particular, conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coörta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus,
Jamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat;
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. (Æn. 1. 148. &c.)

[39] Cicero speaks of this agreement, in one of his Epistles to Atticus (iv. 15.)

examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. After complimenting the integrity of Cato however, they remitted the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Yet Cato by this conduct rendered himself obnoxious to many, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and the judicial power. There is hardly any authority indeed so much exposed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence, which it always carries along with it. For though he who virtuously administers justice may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts, yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion: they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. As justice, however, is a virtue so easily practicable and attainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became generally obnoxious to the leading men of Rome. Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again attached himself to that general, accused Cato of having embezzled a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and raised an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept his daughter in marriage. Cato on the other hand maintained, that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse or a soldier by the government, he had yet brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey

had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted, that he had never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles: "For "my own part," said he, "I rejected the province "offered me as an appendage to my prætorship; "but for Pompey, he arrogated some provinces to "himself, and some he bestowed upon his friends. "Nay he has at present, without even soliciting "your consent, accommodated Cæsar in Gaul with "six thousand soldiers. Such forces, armaments, "and horses are now, it seems, at the disposal of "private men: and Pompey retains the title of "commander and general, while he delegates to "others the legions and the provinces: and con- "tinues within the walls to preside at elections, "the arbiter of the mob and the fabricator of "sedition. From this conduct his principles are "obvious. He holds it but one step from anar- "chy to absolute power.[40]" Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus [41] is said to have been of Socrates, who transported him by his discourses even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of

[40] This maxim has in almost every state been abundantly verified: but never perhaps more fully, more fiercely, or more fatally, than in the elevation of Buonaparte to the throne of France. When ambitious men aim at absolute power, their first measure is to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government by throwing all into confusion, that they may ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

[41] See the end of Plato's Phædo, and the beginning named Symposium. From his passionate enthusiasm, he was surnamed 'Manicus.'

ædile, and apparently lost it; but Cato upon examining the votes, and finding them all written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius was therefore elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy had Cato's assistance, particularly in the theatrical entertainments exhibited to the people. In these, Cato displayed another specimen of his economy; for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, such as are used in the Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person among the spectators, and had resigned the management of the whole to Cato, declared the same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the collegue of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a most magnificent entertainment: but the people deserted him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato the master of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this upon him, only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable to such occasions would have a far better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo were candidates for the consulship, and beside the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had

recourse to violence and murther and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed protector of the election. But Cato opposed this, and said that the laws ought not to owe their security to Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the laws.

When the consular power however had been long suspended, and the Forum was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to confer that power upon Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him, and thus make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus therefore, an agent of Cato moved in the senate, that Pompey should be created sole consul: adding, that his administration would either be of eminent service to the state, or that at least, if the commonwealth must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the most illustrious man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion; intimating, that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey, having been thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the warmest caresses and acknowledgements, and entreated him to assist in his measures, and to preside at his councils. Cato replied, that he had neither formerly opposed him out of private enmity, nor recently supported him out of personal favour, but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that in private he would assist him with his counsel, whenever he should be called upon; but that in

public he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to act accordingly. For soon afterward, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to: for that, if he should scrutinise into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish *ex post facto* penal laws, it would be hard that those, who might be convicted of former offences, should suffer for the breach of regulations not then in being. Subsequently likewise, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends among the rest, Cato observing that Pompey favoured the latter reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and yet he gave into the court a written encomium [42] on Munatius Plancus, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, who was one of the judges, instantly stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's remaining on the bench; yet he was, nevertheless, condemned. Cato, indeed, gave the criminals in general no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter case it was generally under-

[42] Dion calls this an eulogium and a petition, ἐγκώμιόν τε ἅμα καὶ δέησιν.

Munatius Plancus, erroneously called 'Flaccus' in the Greek, was then tribune of the people. He was accused by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimously condemned.

stood, that they were unwilling to rely upon their innocence, and were on that account condemned. Nay, to object to the judgement of Cato became a common subject of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city, by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked as from a dream to the warnings of Cato: yet he still remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, determined to offer himself for the consulship, that he might thus oblige him either to lay down his arms, or to discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius[43], who was one of them, had himself derived considerable advantages from the authority of Cato. Upon this account he was censured as ungrateful, though Cato was not offended; "For what wonder," said he, "is it, that what a man esteems "the highest happiness, he should not resign "to another?" He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people, because it intercepted at once the means of cultivating favour and of conveying bribes, and thus rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. It was in some measure owing to this act, that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much, to canvass in a popular manner himself, and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended

[43] The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The former according to Dion (xl. 58.) was chosen for his eloquence, and the latter for his knowledge of the laws.

with shame and sorrow, both to the candidate and his friends. But Cato was so little affected by it, that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the Forum, without his tunic and shoes: and Cicero, sensible how much Rome stood in need of such a consul, at once blamed his indolence with regard to courting the people upon this occasion, and his inattention to future success; though he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was not owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used among them: whereas, in an application for the consulship, no such measures could be used; and he felt therefore that the citizens were offended by those manners, which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or to retain and by repeating his application to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, gained many hazardous victories over warlike nations; and falling upon the Germans, though then at peace with the Romans, had slain three hundred thousand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar ought to "be given up to the nations whom he had injured, "lest his conduct should bring a curse upon the "city; yet the gods," he said, "should be thanked, notwithstanding, that they had not caused "the soldiers to suffer for the madness and wickedness of their general, but had in mercy spared "the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the senate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read, Cato rose with great calmness, and in a speech so regular that it seemed preme-

dictated said, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved not to be answered: and then laying open the whole plan of his conduct, more like a friend who knew his bosom-counsels than an enemy, he showed the senate that it was not the Britons[44] or the Gauls, but Cæsar himself whom they had to fear. This alarmed them so much, that the adherents of that general were sorry they had produced the letters, which occasioned it. Nothing, however, was at that time resolved upon: it was only debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar; and when his friends required, that in that case Pompey should likewise relinquish his army, and resign his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is "coming to pass the event which I foretold[45]. It is "obvious, that Cæsar will have recourse to arms; "and that the power, which he has obtained by "deceiving the people, he will use to enslave "them." Cato, however, had but little influence

[44] Amyot thinks we ought here to read Γερμανων, not Βρεττανων.

[45] But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate; and Cato's observation was therefore not much more discreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed not less to the destruction of the commonwealth than Cæsar himself. Wherefore did he idly exasperate that ambitious man, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in this part of his conduct, which had but the shadow of virtue to support it. Nay, it is more than probable that it was out of spite to Cæsar, that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered, that Cæsar had debauched Cato's sister.

out of the senate, for the people were bent on aggrandising Cæsar; and even the senate, though convinced by Cato's arguments, were afraid of their resentment.

When intelligence arrived that Cæsar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army toward Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, cast their eyes upon Cato, as the only person who had originally foreseen his designs. "Had "ye, at that time," said Cato, "attended to my "counsels, you would neither now have feared "the power, nor trusted in the counsels of a single "man." Pompey replied, "That Cato had indeed "been a better prophet, but that he had himself "acted a more friendly part." Cato then advised the senate to put everything into Pompey's hands; "For the authors of great evils," he observed, "knew best how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and that even the few he had were by no means hearty in his cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and carried the eldest along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendent, he took Marcia again, who was then become a rich widow; for Hortensius was dead, and had left her his whole estate. This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion to reproach Cato with his avarice; and to call him 'the mercenary husband.' "For why," said he, "did "he part with her, if he had occasion for her "himself? And, if he had not occasion for her, "why did he take her again? The reason is ob- "vious. It was a bait for Hortensius' wealth. "He lent her young, that he might receive her

"back rich." But, in answer to this, one need only quote that passage of Euripides[46],

Call Hercules a coward!

For it would be as absurd to reproach Cato with covetousness, as it would be to charge Hercules with cowardice. Whether or not the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair, is another question. As soon as he had re-married Marcia, however, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said, that he neither cut his hair, nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dress, as in his anguish for his country. On which side soever victory might for a while declare, he made no change upon that account in his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he passed over to Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio had arrived at Messana with a detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming: but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato in return the cause of those revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the ways of "Providence! When Pompey acted upon princi- "ples neither of wisdom nor of justice, he was "invincible; but, now that he would save the li- "berties of his country, his good fortune seems to "have forsaken him. Asinius," he said, "he "could easily drive out of Sicily; but as more "considerable supplies were at hand, he was un-

[46] This passage is in the first act of the '*Hercules Furens*,' where Amphitryon replies to Lycus, charging Hercules with cowardice.

"willing to involve the island in war." He therefore advised the Syracusans to consult their safety by joining the stronger party, and soon afterward set sail. When he came to Pompey, his constant opinion was, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that if they came to blows, which party soever might be successful, the event would prove decisive against the liberties of the state. He also prevailed upon Pompey and the council of war, that neither any city subject to the Romans should be sacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and through his mildness and humanity brought over many to Pompey's interest.

When he went into Asia for the purpose of raising men and ships, he took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy that she had had by Lucullus; for, since the death of her husband, she had lived with her brother: and this circumstance of putting herself under Cato's eye, and following him through the severe discipline of camps, not a little contributed to the recovery of her reputation; yet Cæsar did not fail, with regard to her, to asperse even Cato.

Though Pompey's officers in Asia did not think that they had much need of Cato's assistance, yet he brought over the Rhodians to their party; and leaving there his sister Servilia and her son, he joined that general's forces, which were now on a respectable footing both by sea and land. It was upon this occasion, that Pompey discovered his final views. At first, he intended to have given Cato the supreme naval command; and he had then not fewer than five hundred men of war beside an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. But reflecting himself, or being reminded by his friends, that Cato's single principle was to res-

cue the commonwealth from the government of an individual, and that if invested with so considerable a power the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey likewise to lay down his arms and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrhachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received. But when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when by his impassioned action he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took it's glowing colours from his soul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the skies, and the generals marched forward in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius enabled him to avail himself of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But these things have been related in the Life of Pompey. Amidst the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed the fatal and cruel ambition, which had covered the field with the bodies of citizens slain by each other's hands. When Pompey in pursuit of Cæsar proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrhachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command how-

ever of only fifteen cohorts; for he was still afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew that Cato would prove faithful to him; but if he should be victor, he knew at the same time, as above stated, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrhachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, he determined, in the event of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognisance of the tyrant's power; but, if he survived, to keep his little army together for his future use. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed; and would there have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul, and he himself only prætor. Cicero however declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pompey the younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and some others, had not Cato by private expostulation prevented him, and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and the rest.

Cato, supposing that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Lybia, prepared to follow him with his small force, after having first given to such as chose it the liberty of staying behind. Upon reaching and coasting along the shores of Africa, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted him with his father's death. This deeply afflicted the little band; but, as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men who had placed their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a fo-

reign country, took upon him the command. He first made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had previously shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato therefore, as it was now winter, resolved to march to them by land. He had collected a great many asses to carry water; and furnished himself also with considerable booty, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise in his train some of the people called Psylli[49], who obviate the bad

[47] These people were so called from their king Psyllus, whose tomb was in the region of the Syrtes. Varro informs us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent; and, if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates Pergamenus says, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Hellespont, called Ophiogenes, whose touch alone was a cure for a serpent's bite. Strabo xvii. ascribes to the Tentygrites, an Egyptian people, the same virtue with the Psylli in regard to crocodiles. Celsus observes, that the Psylli suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. The use of sucking in the cure of wounds is recorded by Homer, and Tacitus De Mor. Germ. (according to one reading at least of the passage) and in much later times, is confirmed by the instance of our own Eleanor, the queen of Edw. I. Some writers assert, that the Psylli have an innate quality in their constitution poisonous to serpents, and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himself a natural poison for serpents, and that those creatures will shun the human saliva, as they would boiling water. The fasting saliva in particular, if it comes within their mouths, occasions their instant death. If, therefore, we may believe that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent (though this is by no means a necessary consequence of its mortal effect on the serpent itself) we shall have no occasion to believe at the same time that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but

effects of the bite of serpents by sucking out the poison, and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he neither used horse nor chariot. Ever after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he ate sitting[48]; intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his designation in Lybia, with an army of nearly ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, on account of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, a prince by his wealth and power now become intolerably arrogant. For, when he first gave Cato audience, he seated himself between Scipio and Cato. But Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit upon this occasion; but they have been ready enough to blame him for having put Philostratus[49] in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in

that their success in these operations arose (as Celsus says) *Ex audacia usu confirmata.* They made, however, a considerable trade of it; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy and other countries, in order to increase their emoluments. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island. The prophet Jeremiah (viii. 17.) threatens those whom he addresses with "cockatrices, which will not be charmed."

[48] Instead of reclining on a couch. The consul Varro did the same after the battle of Cannæ. It was a ceremony of mourning.

[49] This Philostratus is again mentioned in the Life of Antony,

Sicily, though he did it entirely in compliment to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he succeeded, also, in reconciling them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take upon himself the command, and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it; but he said, "He would "not transgress the laws, for the sake of which "he was waging war with the man that trampled "upon them; nor, when he was only proprætor, "take the command from a proconsul." For Scipio had been appointed proconsul, and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success; as they thought that a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.[50]

Scipio being established commander-in-chief was inclined, for Juba's gratification, to put all the inhabitants of Utica[51] to the sword, and to rase the city, as a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar. But Cato would not suffer it: he inveighed loudly in council against the design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it, and with much difficulty rescued that people from the meditated cruelty. After which, partly upon their application and partly at the request of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into Cæsar's hands. It was a place indeed very convenient and advantageous to those who were masters of it; and Cato added much to it's strength. For he brought into it a vast

but as one who under the cloke of the academic theory concealed an epicurean practice.*

[50] Arguing from the victory of Zama, and the destruction of Carthage.*

[51] *Hod.* Biserta, or Satcor, in Byzacene or Tunis. Thapsus likewise, and Adrymetum (*hod.* Mahometta) mentioned below, were cities in the same kingdom, nearly opposite to Malta.*

quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. He then disarmed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his own eye: as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls; but, at the same time, he took great care that they should suffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And from the supply of arms, money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica was considered as the principal magazine.

The advice which he had before given Pompey, he now gave to Scipio: "not to risk a "battle with an able and experienced warrior, "but to take the advantage of time, which most "effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio however in his rashness despised these counsels, and once even scrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice; asking him, "Whether "he could not be satisfied with sitting still him-"self within walls and bars, unless he likewise "hindered others from occasionally adopting bolder "measures?" Cato wrote back, "That he was "ready to cross over into Italy, with the horse and "foot which he had brought into Africa, and by "drawing Cæsar upon himself to divert him "from his design against Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the proposal; and it was plain that Cato now repented his having resigned to him the command, since he saw that he would adopt no rational plan for the conduct of the war; and that, if he should beyond all expectation succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation toward the citizens. It was therefore Cato's judgement, and he declared it to his friends, "That on account of the incapacity "and rashness of the generals, he could hope no

" good end of the war; and that, even if victory " should declare for them and Cæsar be de- " stroyed, for his part he would not remain in " Rome, but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity " of Scipio, who already began to throw out harsh " and insolent menaces against many of the Ro- " mans."

The event took place sooner than he had expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with intelligence that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba had fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of these tidings the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarcely keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with extreme confusion and clamor, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of their terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being possibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the three hundred, whom he made use of as a council. These were Romans, who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and to them he added all the senators, and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with the utmost composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book, which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the arms, stores,

bows, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter "With commending the three hundred for the "extraordinary alacrity and fidelity, which they "had shown in serving the public cause with "their purses, persons, and counsels; and exhort- "ing them not to entertain different views, or to "endeavour to save themselves by flight. For," continued he, "so long as you keep in a body, "Cæsar will not hold you in such contempt, if "you continue the war; and you will be more "likely to be spared, if you have recourse to sub- "mission. I desire you will consider the point tho- "roughly, and what resolution soever you may "take, I will not censure you. Should you feel "yourselves inclined to go with the stream of for- "tune, I shall impute the change to the neces- "sity of the times: on the other hand, should you "bear up against their threatening aspect, and "continue to face danger in the cause of liberty, "I will be your fellow-soldier as well as cap- "tain, till our country has experienced the last "issues of her fate: Our country, which "is not Utica or Adrymetum, but Rome; and "she, by her vast efforts has often recovered "herself from greater falls than this. Many re- "sources we certainly have at present for our "protection and safety; and the principal is, "that we have to struggle with a man, whose "occasions oblige him to attend to various ob- "jects. Spain is gone over to young Pompey; "and Rome, as yet unaccustomed to the yoke, is "ready to spurn it from her, and to rise upon "any prospect of change. Neither is danger to "be declined. In this, you may take your enemy "for a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in

" the most unjust of causes; whereas if you " succeed, you will live the happiest of lives, " and if you miscarry, the uncertainties of war " will be terminated by the most glorious of " deaths. Deliberate, however, among your- " selves as to the steps now to be taken, first en- " treating heaven to prosper your determina- " tions, in a manner worthy the courage and zeal " which you have already displayed."

This speech of Cato inspired some with confidence, and even with hope, and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, generous, humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger; and considering him as the only general that was invincible, and superior to all fortune, they desired him to " make what " use he thought proper of their fortunes and " their arms; for that it was better to die under " his banner, than to save their lives at the ex- " pense of betraying so much virtue." One of the council suggested the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many approved the motion: Cato however said, " He " would not do that, because it was neither just " nor lawful; but such as their masters would " voluntarily discharge he would receive, provi- " ded they were of a proper age to bear arms." This, many promised to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little afterward, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato's intentions; proposing to wait for him, if he left Utica, or to assist him, if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay at anchor under

a promontory near Utica, expecting his answer to a similar proposal.

Cato thought it advisable to detain the messengers, till he should know the final determination of the three hundred. All, that were of the senatorial order, with great readiness enfranchised and armed their slaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high interest, and whose slaves are a considerable part of their fortune, the impression which Cato's speech had made upon them did not last long. As some bodies easily receive heat, and with equal ease grow cold again after the fire is removed, so the sight of Cato warmed and expanded those traders; but when they came to discuss the matter among themselves, the dread of Cæsar soon put to flight their reverence for Cato and for virtue. For "What are we," they argued, "and "what is the man whose orders we refuse to re- "ceive? Is it not Cæsar, into whose hands the "whole power of the Roman empire is fallen? "And surely none of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or "a Cato. Shall we, at a time when their fears "make all men entertain sentiments beneath their "dignity; Shall we in Utica contend for the li- "berty of Rome with a man, against whom Cato "and Pompey the Great durst not make a stand "in Italy? Shall we enfranchise our slaves to op- "pose Cæsar, who have no more liberty ourselves, "than that conqueror may be pleased to leave "us? Ah! wretches that we are! Let us at last "know ourselves, and send deputies to intercede "with him for mercy." This was the language of the most moderate among the three hundred: but the chief part of them lay in wait for the senators, thinking that, if they could seize upon them, they should more easily make their peace with

Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but he uttered no remonstrances against it: he only wrote to Scipio and Juba, directing them to remain at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time, a considerable body of cavalry who had escaped out of the battle approached Utica, and despatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution. For some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and some were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly without any compulsion to enrol the names of such as offered to emancipate their slaves. He then went out of the town, taking the senators along with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators, nor to choose Juba rather than Cato for their general; but to unite and mutually contribute to each other's safety by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who (he said) had behaved in a most disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate, and indulged the strongest expressions of grief. But Cato endeavoured to encourage them,

and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Neither was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. Their reply was, "That "they neither desired to be in the pay of Juba, nor "did they fear Cæsar so long as they should have "Cato for their general; but to be shut up with "Uticans, Phœnicians who would change with the "wind, was what they could not endure. For" (said they) "if they are quiet now, yet when "Cæsar arrives, they will betray us, and plot "our destruction. Whoever, therefore, desires "us to range under his banners there, must first "expel the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and "then invite us into a place clear of enemies and "barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage; he answered with mildness, however, "That he would confer "with the three hundred about them." And then again entering the city, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer out of reverence to him dissembled or palliated their designs. They openly expressed their resentment, that any citizens should presume to lead them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was alike beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the senators ought to be detained in the "town, till Cæsar came." Cato let this pass, as if he had not heard it; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take some desperate step with respect to the senators; and he therefore went in pursuit of them, with his friends. As he found they were already under march, he rode after them. It was with pleasure that they saw him approach; and they

exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with their's. Upon this occasion, it is said, Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold on their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay at least that day, in order to secure these unhappy men's retreat.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to entreat him by all means to return and speak to them. But the senators would not suffer him to go. They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer trust himself in the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident, than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares, and conflicts for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own. For his intentions in that respect were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

After having satisfied the senators therefore as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred. "They thanked him for the favour, "and implored him to trust them and make use "of their services; but as they were no Catos, "and had not Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped "he would pity their weakness. They told him, "they had resolved to despatch deputies to Cæ-

" sar, to intercede first and principally in his be-
" half. If that request should not be granted,
" they would have no obligation to him for any
" favour to themselves; but, as long as they had
" breath, they would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgements to them for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. " For me," said he, " intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn " suppliants, and for those who have done an in-" jury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been " unconquered throughout life, and superior in " the thing in which I wished to be so; for in " justice and honour I am Cæsar's superior. " Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man, being " now clearly convicted of those designs against " his country, which he has long denied."

After he had thus spoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed, that Cæsar was already on his march toward Utica, " Strange!" said he, " it seems he takes us for men." He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewise shut all the gates, except that leading to the sea, appointed ships for those who were to depart, provided for good order in the town, redressed grievances, composed disturbances, and furnished all that stood in need with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time, Marcus Octavius[51] approached the place with two legions; and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the business of the command. Cato gave the messengers no answer, but turning to his friends said, " Need " we wonder that our cause has not prospered,

[51] The same, who had commanded Pompey's fleet.

" when we retain our ambition on the very brink " of ruin ?"

In the mean time, having received intelligence that the cavalry on their departure were seizing the goods of the Uticans as lawful prize, he hastened up to them, and snatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremost; upon which, they all threw down what they had taken, and retired in silence dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, desiring them not to exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in concert with them, and consult each other's safety.

After this, he returned to the sea-side to look upon the embarkation; and such of his friends and acquaintances, as he could persuade to go, he embraced and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was not willing to depart with the rest; and he thought it not right to insist upon his leaving a father, to whom he was so strongly attached. There was one Statyllius[52] a young man, who affected a firmness of resolution above his years and in all respects studied to appear like Cato, superior to passion. As this youth's enmity to Cæsar was well known, Cato desired him by all means to take ship with the rest: and when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the stoic and Demetrius the peripatetic, and said; " It is your business to reduce " this man's extravagance of mind, and to make " him see what is for his good." He now dismissed all, except such as had business of importance

[52] This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy to inquire into the condition of Brutus' camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

with him; and in concerns of this kind he spent that night, and great part of the following day.

Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, desired Cato to assist him in composing a suitable speech. "And for you," said he, "I shall think "it an honour to become the most humble sup-"pliant, and even to throw myself at his feet." Cato, however, would not suffer it: "If I chose," said he, "to be indebted to Cæsar for my life, I "ought to go in person and without any media-"tor; but I will have no obligation to a tyrant "in a business, by which he subverts the laws. "And he does subvert the laws, by saving as a "master those, over whom he has no right of "authority. Nevertheless we will consider, if "you please, how to make your application "more effectual in behalf of the three hundred."

After he had spent some time with Lucius Cæsar upon this affair, he recommended his son and his friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own house. His son and the rest of his friends being there assembled, he discoursed with them a considerable time, and among other things, charged the young man to take no share in the administration: "For the state of affairs," said he, "is such, that it is impossible for you to "fill any office in a manner worthy of Cato; and "to do it otherwise, would be unworthy of your-"self."

In the evening, he went to the bath; where bethinking himself of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and said, "Have you lowered the "pride of that young man; and is he gone, with-"out bidding us farewell?" No indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken a great deal "of pains with him, but he continues as lofty and

"resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and "certainly imitate your conduct." Cato then smiled, and replied, "That will soon be seen."

When he had bathed, he went with a large company, to supper, at which he sate as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for as we have observed above, he never now lay down except to sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning; and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the Paradoxes of the stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called) and to this in particular, "That the good man only is free, and all the bad "are slaves[53]." The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it the whole company perceived, that he had determined to put an end to his being, in order to extricate himself from the hard conditions, upon which alone he could expect to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his harangue, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests, and to remove their suspicions by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who were upon their voyage, and

[53] This was not only the sentiment of the stoics, but of Socrates. (L.) See Cic. Paradox. v.—and see a more divine authority Gal. v. 1. where mention is made of "the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free"—an idea happily amplified by Cowper, at the end of the fifth book of his Task:

He is the freeman, whom the Truth makes free,
And all are slaves beside, &c.

for those who had to make their way through a parched and barbarous country.

After the entertainment was finished, he took his usual evening-walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour, with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting, revived all their suspicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the Immortality of the Soul; but before he had gone through with it he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang; for his son had taken it away, while he was at supper. He therefore called his servant, and asked him, "Who had taken away his sword?" As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and after a while without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to comply with his direction, and he had patience till he had finished the perusal of his book; he then called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last, he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raising his voice still higher, cried out, "I am betrayed, and delivered naked "to my enemy by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him had recourse to tears and entreaties. But Cato rose up, and with a stern and aweful look thus expressed himself: "When and where did "I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers "to dissuade me by argument from any wrong pur-"pose, which I may have adopted, but I must be

" prevented from pursuing my resolutions by be-
" ing disarmed? And you, young man, why do not
" you also bind your father, and tie his hands behind
" his back, that when Cæsar comes he may find me
" utterly incapable of resistance? As to a sword, I
" have no need of it to despatch myself; for if I do
" but retain my breath a while, or dash my head
" against the wall, it will answer the purpose quite
" as well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone; " Are you also determined to
" make a man of my age live, whether he will or
" not? And do you sit here in silence, to watch me?
" Or do you bring any arguments to prove that,
" now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter,
" it is neither painful nor dishonourable to im-
" plore mercy from his enemy. Why do not you
" begin a lecture in order to inform me better; that
" so, dismissing the opinions in which you and I
" have lived, we may through Cæsar's means
" grow wiser, and thus have a still greater obli-
" gation to him? As yet, I have determined no-
" thing with respect to myself; but I ought to
" have it in my power to carry my purpose into
" execution, whenever I shall have formed it.
" And indeed I shall in some measure consult
" with you, for I shall proceed in my delibera-
" tions upon the principles of your philosophy. Be
" satisfied then, and go tell my son, if persuasion
" will not do, not to have recourse to con-
" straint."

They made no answer, but went out, the tears falling from their eyes, as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy. He drew and

examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," said he, "I am master of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and (it is said) re-perused the whole twice.[54] After which, he slept so soundly, that he was heard by those who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and to bring him back information.

In the mean time, he ordered the physician to dress his hand, which was enflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for they now thought that he had dropped his design against his life. Soon after this, Butas returned and informed him that they were all got off except Crassus, who had been detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard and the sea was tempestuous. Cato upon this intelligence sighed in pity of his friends on ship-board, and sent Butas down again, that if any of them should have put back and be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing, and

[54] Yet this very dialogue condemns suicide in the strongest terms, and enjoins the philosopher not to think of deserting the post, in which he has been stationed by Providence. Cicero's argument upon the subject (Tusc. Quæst. i. 30.) with regard to Plato's *justa causa moriendi*, the command of the Deity, as implied in certain circumstances, would indeed wholly destroy the object of the dialogue, as every one would readily magnify his petty dissatisfactions into intolerable suffering.

It is impossible to read this minute detail, without being reminded of our own Cato's

"It must be so," &c.

Cato fell again into a little slumber. Butas on his return told him, that all was quiet in the harbour; upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. He could not however strike hard enough, on account of the inflammation in his hand, and he did not therefore instantly expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

This noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out; at the same time he was alive, and looked upon them. They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured he replaced them, and began to sew up the wound. But as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his bowels again, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could have been informed of this sad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little while afterward all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice calling him "their bene-"factor, their saviour, the only free and uncon-"quered man." This they did, though at the same time they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither fear, nor flattery toward the conqueror, nor the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and after a splendid

procession buried it near the sea; where his statue now stands, with a sword in the right hand.

This great business finished, they began to take measures for saving themselves and their city. Cæsar had been informed, by persons who went to surrender themselves, that Cato remained in Utica without any thoughts of flight; that he had provided for the escape of others indeed, but that he himself with his friends and his son continued there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances, he could form no probable conjecture. As it was an object with him, however, to get him into his hands, he made all possible haste with his army to the place. And when he received intelligence of his death, he is reported to have uttered this short sentence; "Cato, I envy thee thy "death, since thou couldest envy me the glory of "saving thy life." If Cato indeed had designed to owe his life to Cæsar, he would not so much have tarnished his own honour, as have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event, is uncertain; but in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined to the side of mercy.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His son suffered nothing from Cæsar; but he was rather immoral, it is said, and incurred some censure for his conduct with respect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and, as he stayed there longer than decency could warrant, such jokes as these were passed upon him: "Cato goes the morrow after the "thirtieth day of the month." "Porcius and "Marphadates are two friends, who have but one "Soul;" for the wife of Marphadates was named Psyche [which signifies 'soul.'] "Cato is a

a great and generous man, and has a royal Soul." By his death, however, he wiped off all aspersions; for fighting at Philippi against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead of slipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their strength with Cato, animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, by the acknowledgement of his adversaries, a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude; for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she was entrusted with the secret of the conspiracy, and as we have related in Brutus' Life, put a period to her existence in a manner worthy of her birth and of her character.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the conduct of Cato, he would have despatched himself soon after him, but he was prevented by the philosophers. He subsequently approved himself to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and was slain in the battle of Philippi.

PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER COMPARED.

OF all the illustrious men, whom we have compared together, Phocion and Cato the Younger appear to supply the most exact parallel. Their excellences as men, as warriors, and as statesmen, are almost precisely alike. With similar combinations of austerity and softness, of

valour and prudence; of anxiety for others and neglect of themselves; they both united an extreme horror of every thing disgraceful, an unchangeable love of justice, and a complete devotion to the cause of their country. Both well educated, and enured in early life to habits of sobriety and fortitude, which enabled them to brave the rigour of the coldest climates and the toils of the most perilous warfare, they preserved them unimpaired till death. Phocion was at first the pupil of Plato, and subsequently of Xenocrates, the most virtuous of the Grecian philosophers. Cato in his orphanship was instructed by an enlightened man, who paid particular attention to the cultivation of his heart. He was tardy in his perception, but tenacious in his retention; and even his tardiness arose chiefly from his reluctance to receive any information, without a full conviction of it's truth.

The sects however, to which they respectively attached themselves, were of a totally different description. Phocion from the soft spring of the Academy drank that mild and moderate philosophy, which Socrates had first recommended, as the surest stimulus of moral virtue. In the hardness of Stoicism, Cato found something more analogous to what we may almost call the inflexibility of his natural character. What indeed must have been his ardour in behalf of that sect, when we see him incurring the trouble of a journey to Asia, for the sole purpose of bringing back with him the stoic Athenodorus? To this difference of schools we may safely refer Phocion's superior gentleness of behaviour. Not that Cato, with all his rigour of principle, wanted feeling: His strong affection for his brother, and his deep concern at his death, with the ten-

der interest which he displayed about his friends even to his last moments, abundantly evince the contrary. In this respect indeed he is not inferior to Phocion himself, whose devoted regard for Chabrias (his tutor in the art of war) and to his son after him, is so justly an object of our admiration.

Both Phocion and Cato lived at periods, when their respective commonwealths retained only the shadow of their ancient glory. Athens by her arrogance had but the ascendency over Greece, which she had acquired by her heroic resistance to the Persians, and was now engaged in that death-blow to her independence, the Peloponnesian war. Pericles too had accelerated her ruin, by augmenting the influence of the people at the expence of the senate, and thus giving rise to a swarm of factious demagogues, who were always at the service of the highest bidder. The same corruption, consequent upon the same profligacy, Cato had to encounter in Rome. Ambition and avarice were grasping at all the offices of the state, and the road to public honours was only open to cabal and intrigue. The sage institutions of their ancestors were trampled upon with impunity; and, if now and then a patriot endeavoured to revive their energy, he invariably failed in the attempt.

Against the contagious example of his fellow-citizens Phocion was armed by his virtue. It seemed indeed as if he had been sent by Heaven, at that critical period, to stem the torrent of vice, which was hurrying Athens to her destruction. Unlike his contemporaries, who limited themselves exclusively to the Forum or to the field, he determined like Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, to pursue distinction in both; and accord-

ingly, though his military renown set him above all the generals of his age, he paid unremitting attention to civil affairs; in order to resist with greater efficacy the traitorous orators, who affected to retain them at their own disposal. His eloquence, in conformity to his character, was nervous and energetic; marked rather by lofty sentiment than elaborate expression, and so powerfully argumentative, as to excite alarm in the breast even of Demosthenes himself. In his political measures, whether he triumphed or miscarried, he was still unshaken. Neither elated by victory, nor dejected by defeat, he appeared, like the Antæus of ancient fable, to rise invigorated by depression. Yet, with this inflexible firmness in the cause of his country, his mildness and his humanity were unalterable: and far from cherishing any unkind feelings toward those, by whom he had been most vehemently opposed, he was frequently seen in their adversity to offer them consolation and support.

Cato, upon his engaging in public life, exhibited a rigid attention to the laws and usages of Rome. He withheld from the army all illegal rewards: as quæstor, he revived the primitive severity of that important office: He made a point of attending the senate upon every occasion, to watch over the machinations of faction; and after having previously refused to sue for the tribuneship, as soon as he learned that Metellus (one of Pompey's creatures) was soliciting the appointment, he instantly became a candidate for the purpose of thwarting that chieftain's ambitious designs. His name was even identified with that of honesty: and such was the influence of his character that, in the affair of Catiline, he entirely counteracted the effect of Cæsar's artful ha-

rangues. Intrepid in whatever respected his country, he resisted with effect a pernicious motion made by Metellus in Pompey's favour, though surrounded by the furious satellites of that tribune; and withstood alike the menaces and the caresses of the first triumvirate, before which Rome herself gave way without a struggle. His disinterestedness he evinced by the immense wealth which he brought from Cyprus, and lodged without deduction in the public treasury, and by declining the illegal privileges voted to him by a grateful senate.

This virtue indeed, the touchstone of great souls, is not less observable in the character of Phocion, who constantly rejected the munificent presents of Alexander, at the risk of incurring his dangerous resentment; and at last, after a life of confidential intercourse with princes, died in a condition of honourable poverty. His reputation, as a statesman and a warrior, was the fruit of his talents: to his virtues he owed the sweeter enjoyments of domestic happiness; as he was married to a wife worthy of himself, and not less esteemed than her husband for her prudence, her modesty, and her simplicity. In this respect Cato was less fortunate. His two sisters were notorious for their misconduct: he was obliged to divorce his first wife, who had borne him two children; and his second, the celebrated Marcia, did not wholly escape the suspicion of irregularity. Might it not be, that his excessive harshness of manners, un-

55 See Sall. Bell. Cat. 57., where Cato is admirably contrasted with Cæsar.

Well did Horace say,

——— *Cuncta terrarum subacta,*
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.
(Op. II. i. 24.)

tempered by the gentleness of Phocion, contributed to alienate from him his nearest connections?

In another regard Phocion had the advantage, as having more generally and for a greater length of time possessed the confidence of his countrymen. In every emergency, Athens turns to him as the only 'pilot capable of weathering the storm.' Her chief disasters arise from her rejection of his counsels; and by him alone they are corrected. But what principally marks his disinterested patriotism is that, notwithstanding all his military talents and his successes, he is generally the friend and the advocate of peace.

The virtues, likewise, of Cato won him the esteem and confidence of Rome; and she regarded him as alone able to detect, and to defeat the projects of her guilty children. His sagacity indeed, in unveiling the secret views of Pompey and Cæsar, appears after the event perfectly prophetical: and he might by his indefatigable exertions have protracted the existence of her freedom, had she not unhappily envied, even while she admired his virtues. Still more corrupt than Athens, from some unfounded suspicions she rejected his application both for the prætorship and the consulate, and willingly stretched out her hands for the shackles prepared by the unnatural ambition of her own sons. Perhaps it would have been better, if he had abated a little of the impracticable rigour of his principles, instead of living (according to the reproach of Cicero) "in the dregs of Romulus, "as if he had been a member of Plato's repub-"lic." Perhaps too it would have been better, had he accepted Pompey's proffered alliance; as it might have given him an opportunity of directing the views of that general to worthier objects, and would most probably have rescued him from the

affinity of Cæsar—an affinity, eventually so fatal to themselves, and to their common country. There are exigencies, in which the most austere morality must accommodate itself a little to circumstances; and, through attending to these, Phocion became a more valuable citizen than Cato. Without descending to flatter Antipater, he led him by his powers of conciliation to grant easier terms to the Athenians: though he suffered himself to be duped by Nicanor, in consequence of his too easy confidence; a foible, of which Cato was never the victim.

In respect to military talents and achievements, Phocion has greatly the superiority. Frequently summoned in the most honourable manner to the command of the army, and that invariably during his absence, at fourscore he is still found at it's head: nor ought it to be omitted that, notwithstanding the heavy contributions which it was often necessary for him to lay upon the allies, he so managed the matter, as never to shake their attachment to Athens. On the contrary, they opened their harbours to him without distrust, after having closed them against every other general. Neither is Cato without ability in the art of war. Among his troops he employs reason as well as authority, sets them a striking example of temperance, and inspires them with the warmest attachment to his person. To the courage indeed, which he kindled in his followers, Pompey was indebted for the victory of Dyrrachium; and in Africa, where for some time after the battle of Pharsalia he kept together the shattered remains of that disastrous day, Scipio was defeated by Cæsar only in consequence of having neglected Cato's advice. Of his patriotism he gave an affecting

proof, when at the very commencement of the civil war he publicly put on mourning, inflicted upon himself many painful privations, and continued in a state of depression and melancholy till his death.

Had Phocion died quietly in his bed, something would have appeared wanting to his glory. Toward the conclusion of his life, the government fell into the hands of a profligate mob, with whom he could have neither sympathy nor interest, but must naturally be in disgrace for his very virtues. A pretext was speedily found to sacrifice him to their resentment. Charged with treason at the tribunal of a frantic populace, he preserves all his elevation of character; after some fruitless attempt to make himself heard, observes a dignified silence; and marches to the place of execution surrounded by a host of clamorous and cowardly assassins, with as much serenity as he had formerly led out their armies, amidst the grateful acclamations of his fellow-citizens, to the field of victory.

Cato, who had preserved his life as long as he thought it might possibly be of service, when he saw Cæsar triumphant and the republic in the dust, determined to bury himself among her ruins. But in spite of the composure with which he first sets about the fulfilment of his project, his angry expostulation with his interceding son, his violent treatment of the hesitating slave, and finally his tearing out his bowels after they had been replaced by the surgeon, gives to his catastrophe the characters of fury and despair. Whether his refusal to make or to tolerate application to Cæsar in his own behalf arose from his pride, which would not permit him to bend before a conqueror, from his conviction that all applica-

tion would be ineffectual, or from his reluctance to live after so many efforts for liberty in a land of slavery, it is difficult at this period to decide.

It may be affirmed however, with regard to the deaths of these two great men, that Phocion in extreme old age, a victim to his patriotism, receiving his fate with the resignation of a sage and the firmness of a hero, presents a much finer picture than Cato in robust manhood dying by his own hand: especially as Cæsar would most probably have pardoned him, and he might in that case still have given his country the valuable example of fortitude bearing up against adversity. The spectacle of a great man struggling with ill-fortune (a sight pronounced by an ancient writer, "worthy of a "God") is undoubtedly far more interesting as well as far more useful, than that of one shrinking from the conflict by an action, which, whatever may be it's apparent effort, is in reality a pusillanimous desertion of an appointed post.

THE

LIVES

OF

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

SUMMARY.

I. *Ixion a symbol of ambitious men. Danger of ambition; exemplified in the Gracchi. Genealogy of Agis. His virtuous character. Decline of Spartan discipline. First attempts of Agis to re-establish it. He gains his mother; but is thwarted by his collegue Leonidas. He proposes the measure to the senate, and to the people. His dispute with Leonidas; who is impeached by Lysander, and deposed. The new Ephori restore him, and are themselves in consequence removed from their office by the two kings. Leonidas flies. Agesilaus eludes the distribution of lands. Agis marches to the assistance of the Achæans against the Ætolians. Leonidas remounts the throne. Admirable conduct of Chelonis, the wife of Cleombrotus. She follows her husband into banishment. Agis is given up to his enemies by Amphares; and strangled in prison: His mother and grandmother undergo the same fate. Indignation of the Lacedæmonians.*

II. *Leonidas marries his son Cleomenes to the wife of Agis' brother: Character of Cleomenes. He resolves to realise the plans of Agis. His first campaign: He defeats the Achæans. Aratus takes Mantinea. Cleomenes recalls Archedamus, the brother of Agis, who is immediately afterward assassinated by the Ephori: Gains a great victory over the Achæans; takes along with him the most refractory Spartans, and gets the Ephori put to death. The Lacedæmonians have temples dedicated to Fear, &c. Cleomenes proposes to the people the re-esta-*

Elishment of Lycurgus' laws. They comply. He ravages the territory of Megalopolis. His reputation among the Greeks: Frugality of his table. He defeats the Achæans, and negotiates with them. Aratus invites the Macedonians into Achæa; treats Antigonus very ill; and causes the negotiation with Cleomenes to be broken off. Cleomenes takes Pellene, and Argos. Lofty idea formed of the Spartans and their king. Cleonæ, Phlius, and Corinth form an alliance with him. He holds Antigonus in check at the Oneian mountains. Argos revolts; and is retaken by Cleomenes, who is forced however to abandon it. Death of his wife Agiatis, and magnanimity of his mother Cratesiclea. He takes Megalopolis by surprise; and offers to restore it to the inhabitants, on condition that they will become his allies. On their refusal, he gives it up to be plundered, lays waste the territories of Argos, and insultingly marches up to it's walls. He is ruined by want of money. Battle of Sellasia, which he loses through the treachery of Demoteles. He advises the Spartans to receive Antigonus, and puts to sea. Antigonus' humane behaviour at Sparta. Therycion proposes to Cleomenes, that they should destroy themselves; but the latter regards suicide as a dastardly measure. Manner, in which he is received by Ptolemy; and subsequent change of treatment, upon the death of that prince. He demands permission for himself and his friends to return to Peloponnesus, is accused of a conspiracy, and confined. He determines to effect his escape. His success. He and his friends destroy themselves. His mother and children put to death, with the wife of Panteus. Superstition of the Egyptians, with regard to Cleomenes.

I. AGIS.

IT is not without an appearance of probability, that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their union: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks,

These are our subjects, yet we always serve them,
And constantly obey their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those statesmen, who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves, to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship, those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; so they, who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called indeed the governors, but are in fact only the slaves of the people.

The complete honest statesman has no farther regard to the public opinion, than as the confidence which it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed indeed to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophrastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterward increase proportionably with the love of glory. But an immoderate passion for fame in all affairs is dangerous, and in political matters destructive. For, joined to high authority, this passion drives those that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer deem that glorious which is good, but account that good which is glorious. As Phocion therefore said to Antipater, when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have Phocion "both for your friend and your flatterer:" this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude; "You cannot have the same man both

" for your governor, and your slave." For that would be to exemplify the fable of the serpent. The tail (it seems) one day quarrelled with the head, and instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in it's turn. Accordingly, it undertook the charge, and as it moved forward blindly, tore itself in a terrible manner; and the head, which was thus unnaturally obliged to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise not a little. We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders, as they can neither redress nor restrain.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us, by considering it's effects in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and of political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined not so much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of disgrace, which in it's outset was far from being wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behind-hand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary, by the most acceptable services they always studied to outdo the honours paid them; and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent, that it forced them into a situation where it was in vain to say,

'Since we are wrong, 'twere shameful to persist.'

These observations will be illustrated in the course of their history.

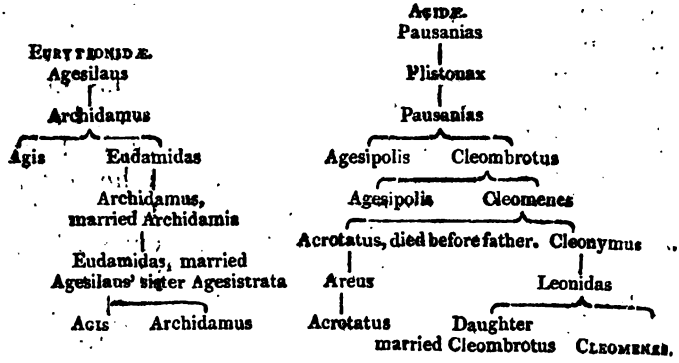
With these two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge the privileges of the people; and by restoring the just and glorious institutions which had long fallen into disuse, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans were not indeed brothers, but their actions were of the same kindred and complexion, the source of which was as follows:

When the love of money made it's way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanness in it's train on one hand, and on the other, profusion and effeminacy and luxury; the state soon deviated from it's original virtue, and sunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion the son of Eudamidas, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his expedition into Asia and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy.[1] Agis was the eldest son of Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus his son, and that prince by another Eudamidas, who was likewise his son, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking. Leonidas, the son

[1] We know of no such place as 'Mandonium.' We should probably read 'Mandurium,' which is a city of Japygia mentioned by the geographers. (Cellar.) See also Diod. Sic. xvi. 62, 63.

of Cleonymus, was of another family (the Agidæ) the eighth in that descent from that Pausanias,[2] who conquered Mardonius at Platææ. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he by another Pausanias, who being banished to Tegea left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He dying without children was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue; and Cleomenes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left another son Cleonymus behind him. He did not however succeed to the kingdom, but Areus, the son of Acrotatus and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child proved to be a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus took the guardianship of him; and, his charge dying in his

[2] This genealogy, drawn out a little more distinctly, stands thus:



It is remarkable that so many of the name of Agis should occur in the family of the Eurytionidæ, and not one in that of the Agidæ. See Vol. I. p. 123. not. (9).

On the subject of Pausanias' banishment to Tegea, see the Life of Lysander, vol. III. p. 179.*

minority, the crown came to himself. This prince was not agreeable to his people. For, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the rest for his deviation from the customs of his ancestors. He had long been conversant in the courts of the Asiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus; and he had the indiscretion to introduce the pomp of those courts into a Grecian state, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almost all the kings who had reigned before him since the great Agesilaus, in goodness of disposition and dignity of mind. For though brought up in the utmost affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition under his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Lacedæmon, yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war against pleasure; and in order to prevent any vanity, which the beauty of his person might have suggested, he discarded all unnecessary ornament and expence, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloke. In his diet, his bathing, and all his exercises, he kept close to the Spartan simplicity; and he often used to say, that the crown was no farther an object of desire to him, than as it might enable him to restore the laws and ancient discipline of his country.

The first symptoms of corruption and distemper in their commonwealth appeared at the time, when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and

silver into Lacedæmon, Nevertheless, the Agrarian law established by Lycurgus still subsisting, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, order and equality in some measure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus a man of high authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the Ephori and having a quarrel with his son, procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate[4] their estates in their life-time, or to bequeath them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment, that this man proposed the decree, which others from a motive of avarice accepted and confirmed; and thus was abrogated the best institution in the world. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and wealth quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no leisure for liberal exercises, being obliged to drudge in mean employments for their bread, and consequently looking with envy and hatred upon the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which perhaps one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was occupied by an insignificant rab-

[3] See the Life of Lycurgus, vol. I. p. 135.

[4] It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws empowering the nobility to alienate their estates, and by those means to reduce their power; for the nobility, were at that time, no better than so many petty tyrants. (L.)

Solon had enacted a similar law (called, at Sparta, 'rhetra,') but on a more limited scale; by which those, who had no legitimate male children, were enabled to bequeath their property as they pleased. See his Life, vol. I. p. 274. not. (48.)*

ble without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to restore the citizens to an equality, and thus to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants. With this view, he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation: they adopted with him the cause of virtue, and for the sake of liberty changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive slave when brought back is of that of his master. They inveighed therefore against Agis for lamenting the present state of things, and desiring to renovate the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand Lysander the son of Libys, Mandroclidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus not only approved his glorious designs, but strenuously co-operated with them.

Lysander had considerable reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas, and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king and a man of great eloquence, but at the same time effeminate and avaricious. He was animated however to this enterprise by his son Hippomedon, who had distinguished himself in many wars, and was respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his per-

son. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that Agesilaus' real incentive to embark in the design, was the pressure of his debts, which he hoped to throw off by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured with his assistance to bring his own mother into the scheme. She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connections, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. On the first intimation of the thing, she was quite astonished, and earnestly dissuaded the young man from measures, which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary. But Agesilaus showed her that they might easily be effected, and that they would prove of the utmost utility to the state. The young prince likewise entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition: "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever to vie "with other kings in point of opulence. The do- "mestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servants "of the stewards[5] of Ptolemy and Seleucus, are "richer than all the Spartan kings put together. "But if by sobriety, by simplicity of provision "for the body, and by greatness of mind, I can "accomplish something which shall far exceed "all their pomp and luxury, I mean the equal "partition of property among all the citizens, I "shall really become an illustrious prince, and "have all the honour that such actions demand."

[5] And yet even their wealth, enormous as it was, was surpassed in after-times by that of the freedmen of the Roman Cæsars!*

This address changed the opinions of the women. They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inspiration, and in their turn hastened and stimulated Agis to carry his scheme into execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the same to the other matrons. For they knew that the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public, than the men are with domestic concerns. This, indeed, proved the principal obstruction and difficulty in Agis' enterprise. The chief part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women: they consequently opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications, in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness; but because they saw that they must also lose that honour and power, which follow property. They therefore applied to Leonidas the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to Agis' projects.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people, who were very desirous of the change, he did not openly oppose it. He strove privately however to blast the design, by applying to the magistrates; and invidiously represented, "That Agis was offering the poor a "share in the estates of the rich, as the price of "absolute power; and that the distribution of "lands, and the cancelling of debts, was only a "scheme to purchase guards for himself, not ci-"tizens for Sparta."

But Agis having procured Lysander to be elected one of the Ephori, seized the first oppor-

tunity of proposing his rhetra to the senate; according to which, "Debtors were to be released "from their obligations, and lands divided in the "following manner:—Those that lay between "the valley of Pallene[6] and Mount Taygetus, "as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed in four thousand five hundred equal lots; "fifteen thousand lots were to be made of the "remaining territory, to be shared among the "neighbouring inhabitants who were able to bear "arms: as to what lay within the limits first "mentioned, Spartans were to have the preference; but if their number fell short, it was to "be made up from strangers, unexceptionable in "point of person, condition, and education. These "were to be divided into fifteen companies[7], some "of four, and some of two hundred, who were to "eat together, and observe the discipline enjoined "by the laws of Lycurgus."

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; in which with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus he harangued the citizens, and entreated them not to let the few insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot. They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles, which bade them beware of the love of money, a

[6] A city of Arcadia, on the borders of Laconia.

[7] That this passage is corrupted, the late editors of Amyot's French version contend, both because fifteen was originally the number, not of tables, but of guests at each table (See the Life of Lycurgus, vol. I. p. 141.) which is here incredibly extended to two, and even four hundred; and because neither fifteen times two, nor fifteen times four hundred make up the 4500 lots in question. Perhaps we should read, as they suggest, "three hundred tables of fifteen persons each."

a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphaa, which had given them the same warning. For Pasiphaa had a temple and oracle at Thalamiæ.[8] Some say, this Pasiphaa was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra,[9] the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of Pasiphaa[10] from answering the questions of all that consulted her. But Phylarchus[11] affirms, she was no other than Daphne the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the solicitations of Apollo was metamorphosed into a laurel, and afterward honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed

[8] Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. (L.) (Cic. De Div. i. 43., and Tertull. de Animâ, 46. See also J. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. i. 4.) The oracle to the same purport was given them by Apollo, *Spartam Nullâ re aliâ, nisi avaritiâ perituram*; upon which Cicero justly remarks, that it was a warning not only to those to whom it was addressed, but to every wealthy community (De. Off. ii. 22.) and details the disorders, which were introduced into Sparta by that fatal passion.*

[9] Pausanias would incline one to believe, that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamiæ" says he, "is the temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who "consult her to sleep in her temple, and what they want to "know is revealed to them in a dream. In the court of the "temple are two statues of brass, one of Paphia [it ought to "be 'Pasiphaa'] the other of the Sun. That which is in the "temple, is so covered with garlands and fillets, that it is not to "be seen; but it is said to be of brass." (iii. 26.)

[10] Δια το παση φαινειν (μαντεια.)

Thalamiæ was on the gulf of Messene.

[11] This writer, contemporary with Agis, had composed (beside many works in mythology) a History of Greece, in twenty-eight books, from Pyrrhus' expedition into Peloponnesus to the death of Ptolemy Euergetes.*

that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality, which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and after a short speech declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution which he recommended. He would first resign to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land and of six hundred talents in money; and next his mother and grandmother, with all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered, that he should be obliged to do the same with his collegue, without receiving the same acknowledgements from the people; that all indeed would be equally under a necessity of giving up their fortunes, but that he who first set the example would exclusively reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether or not he "thought Lycurgus a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas proceeded thus: "But did Lycurgus ever order just debts "to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom of Sparta "upon strangers? Did he not rather think his "commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, "except strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He was not surprised that Leonidas, "who had been educated in a foreign country, "and had children by an intermarriage with a "Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycur-"gus by banishing money had banished both

" debts and usury from Lacedæmon. As for " strangers, he excluded only those, who were " not likely to conform to his institutions, or fit " to class with his people. For he did not dis- " like them merely as strangers, his exceptions " were to their manners and customs; and he was " afraid that, by mixing with his Spartans, they " would infect them with their luxury, effemina- " cy, and avarice. Terpander, Thales, and Phe- " recydes[12] were strangers; yet, because their " poetry and philosophy moved in concert with " the maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in high " honour at Sparta. Even you commend Ecpre- " pes, who when he was one of the Ephori, re- " trenched the two strings, which Phrynis the " musician had added to the seven of the harp; " you commend those, who did the same by Ti- " motheus[13]; and yet you complain of our in- " tending to banish superfluity, pride, and luxury " from Sparta. Do you think that, in retrenching " the swelling and supernumerary graces of music, " they had no farther view; and that they were " not afraid the excess and disorder would reach " the lives and manners of the people, and destroy " the harmony of the state?"

From this time, the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to re-

[12] Terpander had first introduced music into Sparta, and it had been revived there by Thales or Thaletas (not the phylosopher so called) whom Lycurgus had invited to that city. Pherecydes had the glory of having been the tutor of Pythagoras, and first taught in Greece, according to Cic. (Tusc. i. 16.) the immortality of the soul.*

[13] Timotheus, the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, but for this he was severely punished by the Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would enervate the people.

nounce their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws should be proposed to the people, that they carried it against the rhetra by a majority of one. Lysander however, being still in office, resolved to impeach Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every descendent of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a stranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. These allegations he instructed others to adduce against Leonidas, while he with his collegues watched for a sign from heaven. It was customary for the Ephori every ninth year, on a clear star-light night, when there was no moon, to sit down and in silence observe the heavens. If a star happened to shoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of some crime against the gods, and suspended them till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander, affirming that the sign had appeared to him, summoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witnesses to prove that he had had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus' lieutenants had given him to wife; but that on her conceiving a strong dislike to him, he had reluctantly returned home, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this suit he persuaded Cleombrotus, Leonidas' son-in-law and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the Chalcicecus [14] as a suppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the intercession. He

[14] A temple of that goddess at Sparta, constructed entirely of brass. It was still in existence in Pausanias' time (x. 5.)

was summoned thence to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was deposed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander's magistracy expired, and he quitted his office. The Ephori of the ensuing year listened to the supplication of Leonidas, and consented to restore him. They likewise began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands, which those magistrates had illegally sanctioned. In this danger, they persuaded the two kings to unite their interest, and to despise the machinations of the Ephori. "These "state-officers," said they, "have no power, "but what they derive from some difference be- "tween the kings. In such a case, they have a "right to support with their suffrage the prince, "whose measures are the more salutary, against "the other; but when the kings are unanimous, "nothing can over-rule their determinations. "To resist them then, is to fight against the laws. "For, as we said, they can only decide between "the kings in case of disagreement; when their "sentiments are the same, the Ephori have no "right to interpose."

The kings, induced by this argument, entered the place of assembly with their friends, where they removed the Ephori from their seats, and appointed others in their room. Of these new magistrates Agesilaus was one. They then armed a great number of the youth, and released many out of prison; upon which their adversaries were struck with terrour, expecting that many lives would be lost. They did not, however, put a single man to the sword: on the contrary, Agis understanding that Agesilaus designed

to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted assassins by the way for that purpose, generously sent a party of thirty men along with him, who escorted him safe to that city.

Thus the business went on with all the success which they could desire, and they had no farther opposition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, so worthy of Lacedæmon, miscarried through the failure of one of it's pretended advocates, the vile disease of avarice in Agesilaus. He was possessed of a large and fine estate in land, but at the same time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he represented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried jointly into execution, it would probably raise considerable commotions in Sparta; whereas, if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterward quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands. Agesilaus drew Lysander, likewise, into the same snare. An order was therefore issued for bringing in all bonds (the Lacedæmonians call them 'Claria') and they were piled together in the market-place, and burned. When the fire began to burn, the usurers and other creditors walked off in deep distress. But Agesilaus scoffingly said, "He never saw a brighter, or a more glorious flame."

The common people demanded that an immediate distribution of lands should also be made, and the kings gave orders for it; but Agesilaus found out some pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for succours. For they expected, that the Ætolians would march through the territory of Megara, and enter Pelopon-

nesus. Aratus therefore, the Achæan general, assembled an army in order to prevent it, and wrote to the Ephori for assistance.

They immediately despatched Agis upon that service; and he set forward with the highest hopes, on account of the spirit of his troops and their attachment to his person. They were most of them young men in very indifferent circumstances, who being now released from their debts, and expecting a division of lands on their return from the war, strove to recommend themselves as much as possible to Agis. It was a most agreeable spectacle to the cities, to see them march through Peloponnesus without committing the least violence, and with such strictness of discipline that they were scarcely heard as they passed. The Greeks said one to another, "With what excellent order "and decency must the armies under Agesilaus, "Lysander, or Agesilaus of old have moved; "when we find such exact obedience, such reve-"rence in the Spartans to a general, who is per-"haps the youngest man in the whole army!" This young prince's simplicity of diet indeed, his love of labour, and his affecting no show either in his dress or arms above a private soldier, made all the common people, as he passed, look upon him with pleasure and admiration: but his new regulations at Lacedæmon displeased the rich, and they were afraid that he might raise commotions every where among the commonalty, and incite them to follow the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he displayed a proper courage and spirit, without any enthusiastic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they ought to bring

" on an engagement, and never suffer the war to " enter the gates of Peloponnesus. He would do " however whatever Aratus thought most expe- " dient, because he was the older man and gene- " ral of the Achæans, whom he came not to com- " mand or to control, but to assist in the war."

It must be confessed, that Bato[15] of Sinope relates the story in another manner. He says, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes, as an apology for himself upon this point. That general informs us, "That as the husbandmen had "almost finished their harvest, he thought it bet- "ter to let the enemy pass, than to hazard by a battle the loss of the whole country." When Aratus therefore determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments upon their readiness to serve him, Agis who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where by this time internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the Ephori, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not yet come, and insisted on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid however of revenge from those whom he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world,

[15] Author of a History of Persia.

Upon the whole subject of this expedition in favour of the Achæans, there are considerable doubts, both from argument and testimony, of Plutarch's accuracy. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, Histoire, xiv.*

he thought it necessary to maintain a guard which always attended him to the senate-house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them,[16] and the respect which he paid to the other he wished to have referred rather to his being his kinsman, than to his wearing the crown. In addition to all this, he propagated a report, that he should be one of the Ephori the year following. His enemies therefore determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people saw it with pleasure; for they were angry at finding themselves duped, with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus himself would scarcely have escaped their fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

Both the kings took sanctuary, Agis in Chalciœcus, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter, that Leonidas was most incensed; and therefore passing Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize Cleombrotus, whom he resentfully reproached with having conspired against him though his son-in-law, deprived him of the kingdom, and banished him from his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say in reply, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done to her father as done to herself; and when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him, in order to console her father in his misfortune. As long as he remained in sanctuary, she

[16] Cleombrotus.*

stayed with him, and when he fled, sympathising with his sorrow and full of resentment against Cleombrotus, she attended him in his flight. But, when the fortunes of her father changed, she changed too. She joined her husband, as a suppliant; and was found sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were much struck at the sight, and could not refrain from tears, when they considered her goodness of heart and uncommon strength of affection.

Chelonis then, pointing to her mourning habit and her dishevelled hair, thus addressed Leonidas. "It was not, my dear father, compassion "for Cleombrotus, which put me in this habit, "and gave me this look of misery. My sorrows "took their date with your misfortunes and your "banishment, and have ever since remained my "familiar companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, and are again king of Sparta, "should I still retain these ensigns of affliction, "or assume festival and royal ornaments; while "the husband of my youth, whom you yourself "bestowed upon me, falls a victim to your vengeance. If his own submission, if the tears of "his wife and children cannot propitiate you, he "must suffer a severer punishment for his offences "than even you require: he must see his beloved "wife die before him. For how can I live and "support the sight of my own sex, after both my "husband and my father have refused to hearken to my supplication; when it appears that, "both as a wife and a daughter, I am born to "be miserable with my family? If this poor "man had any plausible reasons for what he did, "I invalidated them all by forsaking him to fol-

"low you. But you furnish him with a sufficient "apology for his misbehaviour, by showing "that a crown is so bright and desirable an ob- "ject, that a son-in-law must be slain and a "daughter utterly disregarded, where that is in "question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek upon her husband's head, and with an eye dim and languid through sorrow looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not forsake so affectionate a father, who had thus kindly granted her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband had risen from the ground, she put one child into his arms, and took the other herself; and after having paid due homage at the altar, where they had taken sanctuary, went with him into banishment. So that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile with such a woman a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the Ephori removed, and others substituted in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government; "For the people," he said, "thought he "might well be pardoned, as a young man am- "bitious of honour; and the rather because "they, as well as he, had been deceived by the "craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares,

Democharès, and Arcesilaus used to spend much time with Agis, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed an immense quantity of plate and other rich furniture from Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. Upon this account, he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the Ephori, his collegues, to do the same.

As Agis confined himself wholly to the temple, with the exception of an occasional visit to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. One day, therefore, upon his return they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and as they conducted him on his way, conversed with much freedom and gayety, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant. But, when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares by virtue of his office arrested him: "I take you, into cus-"tody, Agis," said he, "in order to your giving "an account to the Ephori of your administra-"tion." At the same time Democharès, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloke about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on behind; and, no one advancing to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came, with a strong band of mercenaries, to secure the prison without; and the Ephori entered it, with such senators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial pro-

cess, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and, as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep "for his presumption." Another of the Ephori, seeming inclined to put him in a way of excusing and clearing himself, asked him, "Whether "Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him "into those measures?" But Agis answered, "I was forced by no man; it was my attachment "to the institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire "to imitate him, which made me adopt his form "of government." The same magistrate then "demanded, "Whether he repented of what he "had done?" To which he replied, "I shall "never repent of so glorious a design, though I "see death before my eyes." Upon this, they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the Decas, which is a small apartment in the prison, where they strangle malefactors. But the officers durst not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious to lay violent hands upon a king.[17] Democharès, observing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time, he laid hold on Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great

[17] Thinking with our Shakspeare,

There's such divinity doth hedge a king,
That treason can but peep to what it would,
Acts little of his will. (Hamlet iv. 5.)

See also 1 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6.

It seems probable that for 'Decas' above, we should read 'Ceas,' the name of the prison at Sparta.*

concourse of people at the prison-gates, with lanthorns and torches. Among the numbers, who resented these proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and imploring, that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly. But this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution; for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears, upon which he said, "My friend, dry up your "tears; for, as I suffer innocently, I am in a bet-"ter condition than those who condemn me un-"justly." So saying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.[18]

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground, and told her, "Her son should suffer no "farther violence or injury." He added likewise, she might go in and see him, if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares assured her there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be again locked, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and had lived in high honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death, he ordered Agesistrata to walk in. She did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck.

[18] According to Pausan. viii. 10, Agis fell in an expedition against Megalopolis; but Plutarch's is the more generally received account, which places his death B. C. 241.*

She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son and kissing him, she said, "My son, thy too "great moderation, lenity, and humanity have "ruined both thee and us." Amphares, who from the door saw and heard all that passed, went up "in the utmost fury to Agesistrata, and said; "If "you approved your son's actions, you shall "also have his reward." She rose up to meet her fate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses were carried out, the terror which the sad scene inspired was not so great, but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares. For they were persuaded, that there had not been such a train of villainous and impious actions at Sparta, since the Dorians first inhabited Peloponnesus.

The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such veneration by their very enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them, even when they had an opportunity of doing so in battle. Hence it was that, in the many actions between the Lacedemonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus (I.), who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra a little before the time of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who (as the Messenians affirm) was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedemonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That, however, is a matter of some dispute: but it is certain, that Agis was the first king of Lacedemon put to death by the Ephori; and that he suffered only for hav-

ing engaged in an enterprise, that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age, at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends indeed had more reason to complain of him, than his enemies, for having saved Leonidas, and trusted his associates, in the unsuspicious generosity and goodness of his heart.

II. CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a timely retreat. His wife Agiatis however, who had been newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not yet quite come to years of maturity, but his father was unwilling that any other man should marry her; as she was the daughter of Gylippus, and heiress to his large estate, and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, surpassed all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but all her efforts proved ineffectual. When she was married therefore to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first, and his attachment to his wife made him sympathise with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with deep attention to her account of his sentiments and his designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had moreover disposed him to temperance and simplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He held it most glorious, indeed, to reign over a willing people; but, at the same time, he held it not inglorious to subdue their reluctances, and bring them even against their inclinations into the adoption of salutary measures.

With the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta he was dissatisfied. He saw, that ease and pleasure were the chief objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; and that individuals, entirely actuated by self-interest, paid no attention to the business of the state, any farther than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises and strict temperance, to persevering fortitude and universal equality, since the proposing of these things had cost Agis his life.

It is said likewise, that Cleomenes had been instructed in philosophy at a very early period of life by Sphærus the Borysthenite[1], who came

[1] Sphærus was born toward the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Laertius (vii. 177.) has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was first the scholar of Zeno, and afterward of Cleanthes. The Borysthenes is *hod.* the Nieper, and falls into the Black Sea.

to Lacedæmon, and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphærus was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citiean[2]; and it seems that he admired the strength of genius, which he found in Cleomenes, and added fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed that, when Leonidas of old was asked, "What "he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus;" he replied, "I think it well calculated to excite "the courage of our youth: for the enthusiasm, "with which it inspires them, makes them fear "no danger in battle." So the stoic philosophy[3] may put persons of lofty and fiery spirits upon enterprises, that are too desperate; but, in those of a grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and entirely neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, or ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself possessed only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the Ephori. He, therefore, soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called 'inspiration.' Him he first sounded; inquiring of him, what kind of

[2] He was so called to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town of Cyprus.

[3] From it's tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

a prince Agis was, and by what steps and with what associates he came into the way, which he afterward pursued. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings. But when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. He did not, however, acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding; but only said, "Cleomenes knew "very well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and he therefore concerted the whole matter by himself. Under the persuasion, that he could more easily effect his intended change in the time of war than in that of peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint. For Aratus, their great leader, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end, which he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all his proceedings during the many years of his administration. This, indeed, he was of opinion was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against it's foreign enemies. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon Leonidas' death, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans, designing thus to

try how the Lacedæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as an inexperienced young man.

The Ephori, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum[a] near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes, accordingly, took and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. The persons however, who had promised to betray those places to him, found their hearts fail them, when they came to the point; and he retired, as he thought, undiscovered. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he "had marched the night before?" Aratus answered, "That understanding his intention of fortify-"ing Belbina, he had intended by his last motion to "prevent that measure." Cleomenes humourously replied, "I am satisfied with the account, "which you give of your march; but should be "glad to know, why those torches and ladders "were marching along with you."

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and inquired what kind of man this young prince was. Upon which Democrates, a Lacedæmonian exile, replied, "If you design to do any thing against "the Spartans, you must do it quickly, before "the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse and three hundred

[a] A temple of Minerva. Belbina is variously written. See Pausan. viii. 35.

Polybius, a name of great weight in history, in his account of this quarrel, makes Cleomenes decidedly the aggressor. He asserts likewise, that Archidamus fled from Sparta during Cleomenes' reign, and was put to death by his direction. See below.*

foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The Ephori, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But, finding that in consequence of this retreat Aratus had seized Caphyæ, they ordered him again to take the field. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Upon which the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle. But Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted of not more than five thousand men. Cleomenes, elevated with this success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said; "The Lacedæmonians seldom inquired the number of their "enemies, but the place where they could be "found."

After this, he went to the assistance of the Eleans, against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was in the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, deeply affected by this

loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He therefore bethought himself of recalling from Messene Agis' brother Archidamus, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged. For he imagined that the power of the Ephori would be less formidable, when the kingly government was constitutionally complete and had it's proper weight in the scale. The party that had put Agis to death perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established upon the throne, took the following method to prevent it: They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even assisted him in his return; but they assassinated him immediately afterward. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus supposes, or his friends persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot decide. The chief part of the blame however fell upon those friends, who if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teazed him into it.

By this time, he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and he therefore bribed the Ephori to permit him to renew the war. He gained over also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said that, though disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake she accepted a man, Megistonoüs, who had considerable interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was, the going to seize Leuctra,[5] a place within the dependencies

[5] By Polybius called Laodicea. This place must not be confounded with the Leuctra of Bœotia, where Epaminondas gained his great victory.*

of Megalopolis. The Achæans, under the command of Aratus, hastened to it's relief; and a battle was fought near the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian army was beaten. But Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysiadas[6] the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry about him to pursue their advantage; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other enclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks and fell into the utmost disorder. Cleomenes, seeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lysiadas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians, thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, a truce was granted to the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysiadas to be brought to him. He then clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon it's head; and, in this attire, sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lysiadas, who restored liberty to that city, in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, highly elated with this victory, thought if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megistonoüs, that the yoke of the Ephori ought to be broken, and an equal division of property made;

[6] In the text it is 'Lydiadas.' But Polybius calls him 'Lysiadas;' and so elsewhere does Plutarch. Pausanias (viii, 27.) says he did not fall till some years afterward, when Cleomenes took Megalopolis.

by which Sparta would be enabled to resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistonoüs assented, and the king then admitted two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the Ephori, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphaa,[7] had a most remarkable dream. He thought that, in the court where the Ephori used to sit for the dispatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary, which said, "This is "best for Sparta." The magistrate related this vision of his to Cleomenes, who at first was much disconcerted, fearing that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Alsæa, two cities [of Arcadia] belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this he laid in a store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the Lacedæmonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with only the mercenaries. By the way he communicated his design to such of them, as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the Ephori while they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Eurycleidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being

[7] See note (8) p. 584.

charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call 'Samothracians.'[8] These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the Ephori in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords. They were all slain but Agesilaus, and he was then thought to have shared the same fate, for he was the first man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the temple of Fear. This temple was generally shut, but at that time happened to be open. As soon as he was within, he immediately barred the door. The other four were despatched outright; and so were above ten more, who came to their assistance. Those, that remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any prevented from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared, when he ventured the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedicated to Fear, but also to Death, to Laughter, and many of the passions. Neither do they pay homage to Fear, as one of the noxious and destroying dæmons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the

[8] All the commentators agree, that Σαμοθρακας is a corruption. Palmerius proposes to read Πυθιους, 'Pythians'. Thus the Spartans called two persons, whom the king employed to consult the oracle of Apollo, and who used to eat at the king's table. But Πυθιους is very distant in sound from Σαμοθρακας. The editor of the former English translation proposes, by no means unhappily, to read ὁμοθρηνους, which is synonymous to συντροφους. Proper regard ought to be paid likewise to the conjecture of Bryan and Du Soul, who offer us Σαμάντορας. This signifies 'persons who give the signal of battle, præfects, generals.'

Ephori (as Aristotle informs us) when they entered upon their office, caused proclamation to be made that the people should shave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, all the design of that injunction, in my opinion, is to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And the ancients seem to me not to have thought that valour consists in exemption from fear, but on the contrary, in the fear of reproach and the dread of infamy. For those, who stand most in fear of the law, act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they, who are most tender of their reputation, look with the least concern upon other dangers. One of the poets has therefore said well,

——Ingenuous shame resides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priam,

Before thy presence, father, I appear
With conscious shame and reverential fear. POPE.[9]

And in another place he says, the Grecian troops

With fear and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And therefore the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of Fear near the hall

[9] Il. iii. 172. The following quotation is from the same book, v. 431.

where the Ephori used to eat, in order to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day, Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and he removed all the seats of the Ephori except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes and despatch other business. He then assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His speech was to this effect: "The administration was placed by Lycurgus in "the hands of the kings and the senate; and by "them Sparta was a long time governed, without any occasion for other magistrates. But "as the Messenian war was protracted to a great "length, and the kings having the armies to "command had not leisure to attend to the decision of causes at home, they pitched upon "some of their friends to be left as their deputies for that purpose, under the title of Ephori "or inspectors. These at first behaved as substitutes and servants to the kings; but by little and "little they got the power into their own hands, "and insensibly erected their office into an independent magistracy.[10] A proof of this is a "custom still remaining, that when the Ephori "send for the king, he refuses to hearken to the "first and second message, and does not attend "them till they send a third. Asteropus was the "first of the Ephori, who raised their office to that "height of authority many ages after their creation. While they kept within the bounds of mo-

[10] When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it necessary to curb it by the institution of the Ephori. But they were not, as Cleomenes says, at their first establishment ministers to the kings. See the Life of Lycurgus, vol. I. p. 133. not. (23.)

" deration, it was better to endure, than to remove
" them; but when by their usurpations they de-
" stroyed the ancient form of government, when
" they deposed some kings, put others to death
" without any form of trial, and threatened those
" princes who were solicitous to see the divine con-
" stitution of their country in it's primitive lustre,
" they became absolutely insupportable. Had it
" been possible, without the shedding of blood, to
" have exterminated those pests, which they had
" introduced into Lacedæmon; such as luxury, su-
" perfluous expence, debts, usury, and those still
" older evils, poverty and riches; I should then
" have thought myself the happiest of kings. In
" curing the distempers of my country, I should have
" been considered as the physician, whose le-
" nient hand heals, without giving pain. But,
" for what necessity has obliged me to do, I
" have the authority of Lycurgus; who though
" neither king nor magistrate, but only a pri-
" vate man, took upon him to act as a king[11],
" and appeared publicly in arms. The con-
" sequence of which was that Charilaus, the
" reigning prince, fled in consternation to
" the altar. But, being a mild and patriotic
" king, he soon entered into Lycurgus' designs,
" and accepted his new form of government.
" These proceedings then of your great legisla-
" tor are an evidence, that it is next to impossi-
" ble to new-model a constitution without the ter-
" ror of an armed force. For my own part, I have
" applied that remedy with the utmost modera-
" tion; only ridding myself of such as opposed

[11] Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority, and Cleomenes mentions this, only to take off the odium from himself. See his Life.

" the true interest of Lacedæmon. Among the " rest I shall make a distribution of all the lands, " and clear the people of their debts. From the " strangers I shall carefully select some of the " best and ablest, that they may be admitted ci- " tizens of Sparta, and protect her with their " arms; and that we may no longer see Laconia " a prey to the Ætolians and Illyrians, from the " want of a sufficient number of inhabitants in- " terested in it's defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His father-in-law Megistonoüs, and his other friends, followed his example. The rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons, whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they should all be recalled, when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not as before by a ring. He then applied himself to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the strictness of the Lacedæmonian discipline; in the course of which, he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into their ancient order; some being reduced to it by compulsion, but the chief part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. To prevent any offence however, that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner in the throne; and this

was the only time, that the Spartans had two kings of the same family.

The Achæans, he observed, and Aratus were persuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unsettled state; and that he would not dare to quit the city, while it was in such a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both it's honour and utility, to show the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In consequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he spread desolation, and made a very considerable booty. In one of his last marches, he seized a company of comedians who were on the road from Messene, built a stage in the enemy's country, proposed a prize of forty minæ to the best performer, and spent a whole day in seeing them. Not that he set any great value upon such diversions, but he did it as an insult to the enemy, in order to evince his superiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, singers, and dancers of both sexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public shows or feasts, except on the late occasion, were ever seen in his camp. The young men passed the principal part of their time in the exercises, and the old men in teaching them. Their hours of leisure were amused with cheerful discourse, which had all the smartness of Laconic repartee. This kind of amusement had those advantages, which we have mentioned in the Life of Lycurgus.

The king himself was the best teacher. Plain and simple in his equipage and diet, assuming no kind of pomp above a common citizen, he set a

glorious example of sobriety. This was no small advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addressed themselves to other kings, they did not so much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and ostentation, their difficulty of access and harshness of behaviour to all who had business at their courts. But when they applied to Cleomenes, who not only bore the title but had all the lofty qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no mob of pages or of doorkeepers to be encountered. Neither had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries[12]; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them, and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts, and they declared that he was the only genuine descendent of Hercules.

His common supper was short, and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained embassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious dainties or desert were added; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous. For he blamed one of his friends for having set before strangers nothing but the coarse cake and black broth, which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to entertain," he said, "we need not be such very rigid

[12] In the text it is γραμματιων, 'by billets;' but it should probably be read, as in the St. Germ. M.S. γραμματεων, 'secretaries;' there being no instances in antiquity, that have come to our knowledge, of written answers to a personal application.

"Lacedæmonians." After supper, a three-legged stand was brought in, upon which were placed a brass bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a pint and a half a-piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests, as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music, nor was any thing of the kind wanted: he entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation, sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness, and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used, of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic. But to engage and fix people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he regarded it as the true distinction between a hireling and a friend, that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first, who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having by his help expelled the Achæan garrison, placed themselves under his protection. He re-established their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. Thence he made a circuit through Arcadia, and marched down to Pheræ in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or to make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for having thus abandoned the country as it were to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had the whole authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymææ[13] near Hecatombæum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was deemed a rash step for him to take post between Dymææ which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. He boldly challenged the Achæans however, and indeed forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year, refused the command, though he was strongly pressed to accept it. But it certainly was wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The first commands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies[14] sufficiently moderate; afterward, however, he sent envoys, and insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he should not differ with them, for he would restore them both the prisoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification upon these con-

[13] Polybius calls it 'Dymæ.'

[14] The two French translators, and the English one employed by Tonson, change μετρια here into ἐμετρια, without any necessity or pretence of authority for it. We do not see why Cleomenes might not possibly, in the first conditions which he proposed, demand something less of the Achæans, than their allowing him to be commander-in-chief and governor of all Greece. It may be remarked that Plutarch, in the account of this affair which he gives in the Life of Aratus, varies considerably from the one before us.

ditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna,[15] where a general assembly of their state was to be held. But Cleomenes, hastening his march too much, heated himself, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the consequence of which was, that he threw up a large quantity of blood, and lost the use of his speech. He therefore sent the Achæans the most respectable of the prisoners, and putting off the meeting retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, she might have recovered out of her present distress, and have maintained herself against the insolence and rapacity of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared and distrusted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected success. He thought it intolerable, that a young man newly sprung up should rob him at once of the honour and power, which he had now for three and thirty years possessed, and come into a government which had been growing so long under his auspices. For this reason, he first tried what his interest and powers of persuasion would do, to keep the Achæans from closing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him by their admiration of the great spirit of that prince, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans, who only desired to bring Peloponnesus back to it's ancient model, were not unreasonable. Aratus then undertook what would not have become any Grecian, but what in him was peculiarly dishonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct both in the cabinet and in the field: He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponnesus with Macedonians, though in his youth he

[15] Seated on a marsh between Argos and Mycenæ, and famous for the Hydra, which Hercules destroyed.*

had expelled them, and rescued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy, and an object of jealousy, to all kings. Antigonus, in particular (as it appears from the writings, which he left behind him)[16] he loaded with a thousand reproaches. He boasts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garrison; and yet he introduced those very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own house, and even into the women's apartment. At the same time he could not bear that a Spartan king, a descendent of Hercules, who sought only to restore the ancient polity of his country, to correct it's broken harmony, and to bring it back to the sober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it,[17] should be declared general of the Sicyonians and Triccæans.[18] In order to avoid the coarse cake and the short cloke, and (what he thought the greatest grievance in the whole system of Cleomenes) the abolishing of riches, and the rendering of poverty a more supportable thing, he made Achæa truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, and of Asiatic grandees. To shun the appearance of submission to Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to the divinity of

[16] Aratus wrote a history of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

[17] The music, like the architecture, of the Dorians was remarkable for it's simplicity. M. Ricard however, with the Latin translator and Amyot, thinks that Plutarch, though he often illustrates political by physical harmony, only means in this place to refer to the Doric origin of the Lacedæmonians.

[18] This probably, should be 'Tritæans.' Tritæa was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; which could hardly be the case with Tricca, a city of Thessaly, or rather of Achæa, Paus. vi. 12.

Antigonus, and with a garland on his head sung pæans in honour of a rotten Macedonian. These things we say, not in accusation of Aratus, for in many respects he was a great man, and worthy of Greece; we mean only to point out with compassion the weakness of human nature, which in dispositions the best formed to virtue can produce no excellence without some taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans re-assembled at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained strong hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already settled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted from the people, proposed; "That he should take three hun-"dred hostages for the security of his person, and "enter the town alone: or, if he declined that "proposal, should come to the place of exercise "without the walls called Cyllarabium,[19] and "treat there at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonstrated against the injustice of these proceedings. He said, "They should have made "him these proposals at first; and not now, when "he was at their gates, distrust him, and shut "him out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter upon this subject, almost filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives against the king of Sparta. The consequence was, that the latter quickly retired, and sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald (according to Aratus) was sent, not to Argos,

[19] From Cyllarbus, the son of Sthenelus.

but to Ægium [20], in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared. There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league, and many towns were ready to fall off. For the common people were longing for an equal distribution of lands, and the extinction of their debts; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his having brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison. Afterward, he made himself master of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos, to guard against any measures tending that way, and went themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping (what really proved the case) that if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the utmost confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called Aspis, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding it's difficulty of access. This struck them all with such terror, that no one thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

[20] This was a maritime town of Achæa on the Corinthian bay, and of course at a great distance from Argos. The intention of Cleomenes was to take Argos by surprise, before the inhabitants could receive intelligence of the war.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince. For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus himself, one of the ablest of chieftains, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it; but lost his life in the attempt, and had a considerable part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the despatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they, who before had laughed at him for declaring, that he would tread in the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts and in an equal division of property, were now fully persuaded, that he was the sole cause of the entire change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thousand slaves. Upon which occasion, one of the old Spartans said, "The enemy had done them "a kindness, by taking such a heavy charge off "their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and discipline, than as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they gave the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to it's antient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Along with Argos, Cleonæ and Phlius immediately came in.[2] Aratus was at that time making an inquisition at Corinth into the conduct of such, as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian interest. But when the intelligence of their late

[2] Towns between Argos and Corinth.

losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and sought to get rid of the Achæans,[22] he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could devise no better expedient, than that of calling the citizens to council, and in the mean while he stole away to the gate. A horse being ready for him there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that (as Aratus informs us) they killed or spoiled all their horses. He adds, that Cleomenes highly censured the people of Corinth for not having seized him, but suffered him to escape. Nevertheless Megistonous, he subjoins, came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums, if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. He answered, "That affairs did not then depend "upon him, but he must be governed by circum-"stances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes in his march from Argos added the Trœzenians, Epidaurians, and Hermionians to the number of his friends and allies; and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refused to surrender. He sent, however, for the friends and stewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and effects in that city. He likewise sent again to that general by Tritymallus the Messenian, and proposed that the citadel should be garrisoned half with Achæans, and half with

[22] In the printed text it is Αχαιων απαλλαγηναι βελομενον, and the Latin and French translators have followed it, rendering it to this sense, 'and the Achæans were hastening home:' but two MSS. give us βελομενην, which is to be referred to πολιν preceding, and with the former English translator we choose to follow that reading.

Lacedæmonians; offering at the same time, to double the pension which he then received from Ptolemy [Euergetes] king of Egypt. But Aratus, instead of accepting these conditions, having sent his son and other hostages to Antigonus, and persuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth should be put into the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in pursuance of a decree of the Corinthians seized on the whole estate of Aratus. After Antigonus had passed Gerania[23] with a large army, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify the Onæan mountains[24] than the Isthmus, and by the advantage of his post to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with the highly disciplined phalanx. By this plan of operations Antigonus was greatly perplexed. For he had neither laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, nor could he easily force the pass, where Cleomenes had stationed himself. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponnesus by the port of Lechæum,[25] but he was repulsed with loss.

Cleomenes was highly encouraged by this success, and his troops went to their evening's refreshment with pleasure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely dispirited; for he saw himself in so troublesome a situation, that it was scarcely possible to find any resources, except

[23] A mountain between Megara and Corinth.

[24] This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as mount Cithæron (Strab. viii.) They were called ὄρη ὀνεῖα, 'the mountains of asses,' (L.) a name derived (as the learned Bryant elaborately proves, in his dissertation upon the story of Balaam) from one of the objects of idolatry of the heathen world.*

[25] One of the two harbours of Corinth.

such as were extremely difficult of execution. At last he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum[26], and thence to transport his troops in boats to Sicyon; but that required much time, and very considerable preparations. The following evening, however, some of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by sea, having been despatched to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and purposed to invite him to that city. Of this defection, Aristotle was the author, and he had found no great difficulty in persuading the people into it, because Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them reason to expect. Upon this Aratus with fifteen hundred men, whom he had received from Antigonus, sailed to Epidaurus. But Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonoüs, and in an angry tone ordered him to the relief of Argos. For he it was, who had principally guaranteed the obedience of the Argives, and had thus prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having dispatched Megistonoüs upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians; assuring them, it was no serious affair that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonoüs got into Argos, and was slain in a skirmish there; the garrison were hard

[26] Consecrated to Juno, on which stood a temple of that goddess, See Liv. xxxii. 23.*

pressed, and messenger after messenger sent to Cleomenes. Upon this he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege Sparta itself, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth, the consequence of which was the loss of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the mean time Cleomenes, having collected his forces which had been scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called Aspis, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this, he took some other quarters of the city by assault; and, ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it imposible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after having achieved the greatest exploits in a short space of time, and made himself master of almost the whole of Peloponnesus in onecampaign, he lost all in less time than he had gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long afterward to Antigonus.

Such was the ill success of this expedition. And what was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, messengers from Lacedæmon

met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife; for, whom his affection was so strong, that amidst the current of his happiest success he could not stay from her a whole campaign, but frequently repaired to Sparta. No wonder then that a young man, deprived of so beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loss. Yet his sorrow did not debase the dignity of his mind. He spoke in the same accent; he preserved the same dress and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the security of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedæmon; and, after having paid a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himself to the concerns of state. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furnish him with succours; but it was on condition, that he sent him his mother and children as hostages. This circumstance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but he could not proceed. She began to suspect there was something, which he was afraid to open to her; and she asked his friends, what it might be. At last, he ventured to tell her; upon which she burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "Was this the thing, which you have so "long hesitated to communicate? Why do not "you immediately put us on board a ship, and "send this carcase of mine where you think it "may be of most use to Sparta, before age ren"ders it good for nothing, and sinks it into the "grave?"

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus, the army conducting them to that port. Cratesiclea, being on

the point of embarking, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where seeing him in great emotion and concern, she threw her arms about him and said; "King of the Lace-"dæmonians, take care that when we go out no "one perceive us weeping, or doing any thing "unworthy of Sparta. This alone is in our "power; the event is in the hands of God." After she had given him this advice, and composed her countenance, she went on board, with her little grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea as soon as possible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, she understood that Ptolemy had received embassadors from Antigonus, and seemed to listen to his proposals; and on the other hand, she was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid upon her account to put an end to the war, without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to her son, to desire him "to do what he thought most advantageous and "honourable for Sparta, and not for the sake of "an old woman and a child to live in constant fear "of Ptolemy." Such was the behaviour of Cratesiclea under adverse fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomenus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the helots as could pay five Attic minæ for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having moreover armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those helots, whom he designed to oppose to the Leucaspides of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprise. Megalopolis was at that time as large and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by

the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. The Megalopolitans, indeed, had been the foremost and most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes resolved to surprise; for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days' provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he meditated an inroad into the territories of Argos. But he turned short, and entered those of Megalopolis; and, after having refreshed his troops at Rhœtium, marched by Helicus[27] directly toward that city. When he was near it, he sent Panteus forward with two companies of Lacedæmonians to seize that part of the wall, which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded; and followed himself, with the rest of his army, at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but a considerable portion of the remainder of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the sentinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprised of the misfortune, which had befallen them, than the chief part left the city, taking along with them their money and other most valuable effects. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow-citizens an opportunity of escaping. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the others having retired to Messene with their wives and children, before there was any possibi-

[27] Lubinus, from a passage in Pausanias, thinks it ought to be read 'Helisson,' there being no such place as Helicus in Arcadia.

lity of pursuing them. A large part even of those, who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of high name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes, than he thus addressed him: "Now," said he (in a loud voice, because it was at a distance) "now, king of "Sparta, you have an opportunity of doing an "action much more glorious and princely than "the late one, and of acquiring immortal ho-"nour." Cleomenes, guessing at his aim, replied; "You would not have me restore you the town?" "This is the very thing," said Lysandridas, "which I would propose. I strongly advise you, "not to destroy so fine a city, but to fill it with "firm friends and faithful allies by restoring the "Megalopolitans to their country, and becoming "the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused a while, and then answered, "This is hard to believe; but, be it as it will, let "glory with us have always greater weight than "interest." In consequence of this determination he sent the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name, to offer the Megalopolitans their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes however made so gracious and humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league[28]; but assuring them that the

[28] Polybius, in his second book, bestows just encomiums upon this conduct of the Megalopolitans, and as warmly censures the cruelty of Cleomenes.

king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, was only anxious to get the citizens likewise into his power, forced Thearidas and Lysandridas to leave Messene. This is that Philopœmen, who was subsequently the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his Life) one of the most illustrious of the Greeks.

Upon this Cleomenes, who had hitherto kept the houses and goods of the Megalopolitans with so much care, that not the least thing had been embezzled, was enraged to such a degree, that he plundered the whole, sent the statues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greatest and best parts of the city with the ground. He then marched home again, being under some apprehensions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They made no motion, however, toward it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the rostrum upon that occasion, where he wept a long time with his robe before his face. They were all much surprised, and desired him to speak. At last he said, "Megalopo-"lis is destroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were astonished at so heavy and sudden a blow, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made strenuous efforts to go to the relief of the place; but as his troops assembled slowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with a considerable body of forces which he had with him.

This made the second enterprise of Cleomenes appear rash and desperate; but Polybius, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with the utmost foresight. For knowing (as he tells

us) that the Macedonians were dispersed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; under the persuasion, that either the shame of suffering such an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle and expose him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into disrepute with the Argives. The event justified his expectation. When the people of Argos saw their country laid waste, and every thing that was valuable destroyed or carried off, they ran in great displeasure to the king's gates, and besieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or else give place to his superiors. Antigonus however, like a wise and able general, thought the censures of strangers no disgrace, in comparison with his quitting a place of security and rashly hazarding a battle, and therefore he persisted in his first resolution. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, insulted his enemies, and before he retired spread desolation at his pleasure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a design to enter Laconia on that side. Upon this emergency he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with sithes and sickles, as people usually do, but beat it down with wooden instruments in the form of cimitars, as if this destruction was only an amusement to his soldiers in their march. Yet when they would have set fire to Cyllarabis, the school of exercise, he prevented it; reflecting, that the ruin of Megalopolis had been dictated rather by passion than by reason.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the passes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmost contempt, sent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. After he had indulged himself in this insult on his enemy, and offered his sacrifice under the walls of the temple which was fast shut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march thence he dislodged the garrison of Ologuntus, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inspired his subjects with fresh courage, but made himself considered by the enemy as an admirable general, and a man capable of the most arduous undertakings. For with the strength of a single city to oppose the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponnesians, and all the treasures of the king, and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devastation *into the* enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and spirit.

He, who first termed money 'the sinews of business', seems principally to have had respect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treasury was very low, told them, "They must think of baking bread, before "they thought of an embarkation." It is also said that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the quota of each might be settled, replied "war cannot be kept at a set diet."[29] And in this case we may justly observe that, as wrest-

[29] This saying is below, in Demosthenes' Life, assigned to the orator Crobylus, upon a different occasion.*

lers strengthened by long exercises at last tire out those, who have equal skill and agility, but not equal exercise; so Antigonus, coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time exhausted and overcame Cleomenes, who could but very slenderly pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being called home by the bad posture of his affairs. For, in his absence, the barbarians had invaded and ravaged the whole of Macedon. The Illyrians in particular, descending with an immense army from the north harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were compelled to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewel. But fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, proved on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be.[30] As soon as the battle of Sellasia[31] was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers arrived to call Antigonus home. This was a deep aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off, and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and,

[30] Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

[31] Polybius, in his second book, has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts, and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, through want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten.

after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans upon what conditions he pleased. But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men he was constrained to challenge thirty thousand.

Through the whole course of the action, he showed himself an excellent general; his Spartans behaved with the utmost spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill; his defeat was owing to the superior advantage, which the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their phalanx.

Phylarchus indeed assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers, that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to take a circuit, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshalling the rest of his army. Cleomenes, viewing from an eminence his adversary's arrangement, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Arcananians were posted, and began to fear that they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the intended movements. Damoteles, who is said to have been bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "he had nothing to "fear from that quarter, for all was safe in the "rear; neither was there any thing more to be "done, but to resist the attack upon his front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, encountered Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so

much vigour, that they drove back the Macedonian phalanx, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then, seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped and exclaimed; "Thou art lost, my "dear brother, thou art lost, in spite of all thy "valour! But glorious is thy example to our "Spartan youth, and the songs of our matrons "shall for ever record thee[32]!"

Euclidas and the wing he commanded being thus cut off, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who seeing his men in disorder, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said, that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that, of six thousand Lacedæmonians, not more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as "the one or the other may be most for the interest "of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men, who had escaped with him, help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into keeping a young woman, who was a free-born native of Megalopolis. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field. But, though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only placed his hand against a pillar, and his head upon his elbow armed as he was; and

[32] He acted like a brave soldier, (as it appears from Polybius) but not like a skiful officer. Instead of pouring down upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to intercept his retreat.

having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he repaired to Gythium[33] with his friends. There they embarked on board vessels provided for that purpose, and immediately put to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic. For he offered them no kind of insult, but restored to them their laws and polity; and, after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He had learned, indeed, that Macedon was involved in a dangerous war, and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Besides, he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. He bore up however under his affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, until a brilliant and bloody victory over the barbarians enabled him to die more gloriously. Phylarchus informs us (and it is not at all improbable) that he burst a vessel in his lungs, with shouting in the battle: though it was current in the schools, that in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythera, where Cleomenes first touched, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There, he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene; when one of his friends named Terycion, a man of high and intrepid spirit upon all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to him, and thus addressed him:

[33] A small city near the mouth of the Eurotas, which served as the port of Sparta.

" We have lost, my prince, the most noble of deaths, " which we might have found in the battle; " though the world had heard us boast, that An- " tigonus should never conquer the king of Spar- " ta, till he had slain him. Yet there is a second " opportunity, still offered us by glory and virtue. " Whither then are we so absurdly sailing; flying " a death that is near, and seeking one that is re- " mote? If it is not dishonourable for the descen- " dents of Hercules to serve the successors of " Philip and Alexander, why do we not save our- " selves a long voyage by making our submission " to Antigonus, who in all probability as much " excels Ptolemy, as the Macedonians do the " Egyptians? But if we do not choose to be go- " verned by a man, who beat us in the field, why " do we take one who never conquered us, for our " master? Is it that we may exhibit our inferi- " ority to two, instead of one, by flying before " Antigonus, and then going to flatter Ptolemy? " Shall we say, that you go into Egypt for your " mother's sake? It will be a glorious and happy " thing truly for her, to show Ptolemy's wives her " son from a king degraded into a captive and an " exile. No! while we are yet masters of our " swords, and are still in sight of Laconia, let us " deliver ourselves from this miserable fortune, " and make our excuse for our past behaviour to " those brave men, who fell for Sparta at Sel- " lasia. Or shall we rather sit down in Egypt, " and inquire whom Antigonus has left satrap of " Lacedæmon?"

To this speech of Therycion, Cleomenes replied: " Dost thou think then, wretch that thou " art, dost thou think by running into the arms " of death, a thing of all others the easiest to " be found, to display thy courage and forti- " tude? And dost thou not consider, that this

" flight is still more dastardly than the former?
" Better men than we have given way to their
" enemies, being either overset by fortune, or
" oppressed by numbers. But he who faints
" either through fear of labour and pain, or of
" the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim
" to his own cowardice. A voluntary death
" ought to be an action, not a retreat from ac-
" tion. For it is an ungenerous thing, either to
" live or to die to ourselves. All that thy ex-
" pedient could possibly effect, would be only to
" extricate us from our present misfortunes, with-
" out answering any purpose either of honour
" or utility. But I think that neither thou, nor
" I, ought to desert all hopes for our country.
" If those hopes should desert us, death, when
" we seek for him, will not be hard to find."
Therycion made no reply; but on the first opportunity of quitting Cleomenes, he went down to the shore, and stabbed himself.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and sailed to *Africa*, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was first introduced to Ptolemy,[34] that prince behaved to him with sufficient kindness and humanity; but when upon farther trial of him, he discovered his strength of understanding, and that his laconic and simple way of conversing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleasantry; when he saw that he did not in any instance whatever dishonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleasure in his discourse, than in the mean sacrifices of complaisance and flattery. He deeply repented likewise, and blushed at the thought of having neglected such a man,

[34] Ptolemy Euergetes.

and given him up to Antigonus, who by conquering him had acquired so much power and glory. He therefore now encouraged him with every mark of attention and respect, and promised to send him back to Greece with a fleet and a supply of money, to re-establish him in his kingdom. His present appointments amounted to four and twenty talents by the year. Out of this, he maintained himself and his friends in a sober and frugal manner, and employed the rest in offices of humanity to such Greeks, as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died, before he could carry his intentions in favour of Cleomenes into execution; and the court soon becoming a scene of debauchery and drunkenness, where women bore the chief sway, the business of Cleomenes was neglected. For the king[35] was so much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more sober and serious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of mysteries, and the beating of a drum round the palace; while the great affairs of state were left to his mistress Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenanthes the infamous minister of his pleasures. It appears, however, that at first some use was made of Cleomenes. For Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who through his mother's interest was in high favour with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a consultation in his cabinet; the subject of which was, whether or not he should destroy his brother. All the rest voted for it, but Cleomenes strongly opposed it. He said, "The king, if it were possible, ought "to have more brothers, for the greater security "of the crown, and the better management of af-"fairs." And when Sosibius, the king's princi-

[35] Ptolemy Philopator.

pal favourite, replied; "That the mercenaries "could not be trusted so long as Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no concern on that head: "For," said he, above three "thousand of the mercenaries are Peloponnesians, "who upon a nod from me will be ready with "their arms.[36]" Hence Ptolemy for the present considered Cleomenes not only as a steady friend, but a man of power; but his weakness afterward, as is common with people of little understanding, increasing his timidity, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp, and they regarded Cleomenes, on account of his interest with the mercenaries, as an object of apprehension; insomuch that many were heard to say, "He was a lion "among a flock of sheep." Such indeed he seemed to be at that court, where with a silent severity of aspect he observed all that passed.

Amidst these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops. But having learnt that Antigonus was dead, that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians, and that affairs called strongly for his presence in the troubles and distractions which then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends. No one, however, listened to his application. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of bacchanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that yet it was not

[36] Polybius gives a different and darker picture of Cleomenes' conduct upon this occasion, and represents him as making this speech only to confirm Ptolemy and Sosibius in their project of murthering Magas.*

safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit, and because he had been an eye-witness of the distempered state of the kingdom. For it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the Ox Apis,[37] though revelling to all appearance in every imaginable delight, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, desires to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him, so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

> Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
> In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
> And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul. POPE.[38]

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who under the pretence of friendship concealed the most rancorous hatred[39] of Cleomenes, came to Alexandria. He had formerly, it seems, sold him a fine piece of ground; and the king either through want of money, or his continual engagement in war, had neglected to pay

[37] Which had a temple at Memphis, and was one of the chief objects of Egyptian superstition.*

[38] Hom. Il. i. 491.*

Of this hatred Polybius assigns the cause. Nicagoras had been the friend of the murthered Archidamus, had negociated his return to Sparta, and had accompanied him thither. His subsequent rancour against Cleomenes seems to prove, but too well, the participation of that prince in the murther. See not.(4.)p.603. This, as prejudicial to the character of his hero, Plutarch appears here to have suppressed; and yet, in the subjoined parallel, he admits the probability of his guilt. It must be owned however that he is too partial to Cleomenes, probably in consequence of having followed Phylarchus (though by his own confession, occasionally a fabulous writer. See the Life of Themistocles, vol. I. p. 393.) in preference to Polybius, whom he perhaps suspected of an undue bias in favour of Aratus and the Achæans.*

him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just landing from a merchant-ship, and saluting him with great kindness, inquired, "What business "had brought him to Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with an equal appearance of friendship, and answered, "I am bringing some "fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished "that you had brought him some female musi- "cians and pathics; for those are the cattle, that "the king at present likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but a few days afterward he reminded Cleomenes of the field, which he had sold him, and requested to be paid for it: pretending, "That he would not have given him any "trouble about it, if he had not met with consi- "derable loss in the disposal of his merchandise." Cleomenes assured him, "That he had nothing "left, of what the kings of Egypt had given "him;" upon which Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would still farther exasperate Ptolemy, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter behind him, asserting that, "If the Spar- "tan prince had received a supply of ships and "men from the king of Egypt's bounty, he would "have made use of them in seizing Cyrene for "himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days afterward, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if it had just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a heavy affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king, had uniformly behaved to Cleomenes with the utmost civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress, desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He accordingly came and conversed with him in the most plausible manner, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions, and to apologise for the king. But as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes had followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand, "for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who if he escaped, "could never in all probability be retaken." Cleomenes, having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon which they all dismissed their former hopes, and taking the measures which anger dictated, resolved to revenge themselves of Ptolemy's injurious and insolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, instead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar. For they thought it insufferable that Cleomenes, after he had disdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior and a man of action, should lingeringly expect his fate from a prince, who assumed the character of a priest of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aside his drum; and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of sport in putting him to death.

When they had formed their resolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus,[40] they propagated a report, that by the king's order Cleomenes was to be released; and as it was customary with the

[40] A city at the western mouth of the Nile, *hod.* Maadie.*

kings of Egypt to send those, to whom they designed such a favour, a supper and other tokens of friendship, the friends of Cleomenes made ample provision for the purpose, and sent it to the gate. By this stratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined, that the whole had been sent by the king. Cleomenes then offered sacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers upon his head, and afterward sat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers should have large portions to regale them. It is said, that he set about his enterprise sooner than he had intended, because he found that one of the servants, who was in the secret, had been out all night with his mistress. Fearing therefore that a discovery might be made, about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night still kept the guards fast asleep, he put on his military tunic, having first opened the seam of the left shoulder, and rushed out sword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number and accoutred in the same manner.

One of them named Hippotas, though lame, was at first enabled by the spirit of the enterprise to keep pace with them; but afterward perceiving that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme by waiting for a man, who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horse in the street; this they seized, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. The people, however, had only spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not one of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon

him, and despatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: but they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards, and dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. They then marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison and attach the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party; but the keepers had prevented them, by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus again disappointed, roamed up and down the city: and found that, instead of joining him, all men cautiously avoided his party.

He therefore stopped and said to his friends, "It is no wonder that women govern a people, "who fly from liberty;" adding, "He hoped "they would all die in a manner, that would reflect "no dishonour upon him, or upon their own "achievements." Upon this, Hippotas desired one of the younger men to despatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterward each of them without fear or delay fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age, remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had procured him a considerable share of the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to despatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He therefore kissed him, and sat down by his side, till the breath was out of his body; and then, embracing the corpse, slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes,[41] after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and shewed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior fortitude, sunk under the weight of the calamity: she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The elder of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. He was not killed however, though much hurt: and when they took him up, he loudly expressed his grief and indignation, that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed[42] and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother and the women her companions. Among these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidst the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him; but she was prevented by her parents, who kept her in close custody. Soon afterward however she provided herself with a horse and a little money, and making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She reached her husband safely, and readily and cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences of a foreign residence. When the

[41] B. C. 220.

[42] M. Picard translates, 'enclosed in a leather bag,' under an idea that the dastardly tyrant's object was to protract the exposure of his brave victim as long as possible. Amyot represents it as somewhere stated, that he even ordered him with that view to be embalmed!*

soldiers came to take Cratesiclea to the scaffold, she led her by the hand, assisted in bearing her robe, and desired her to exert all her courage[43]; though she was far from being afraid of death, and desired no other favour, than that she might die before the children. But when they arrived at the place of execution, the children suffered before her eyes; and then Cratesiclea was despatched, uttering in her extreme distress only these words, "O! my children! whither are "you gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong, girt her robe about her, and in a silent and composed manner paid the last offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her present circumstances would admit. Last of all, she prepared herself for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjusting it in such a manner as to need no assistance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other person to approach her, she fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the decorum, which she had preserved in life; and the decency, which had been so sacred with this excellent woman, still remained about her. Thus in this bloody tragedy, in which the women contended to the last for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedæmon evinced that it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.

A few days afterward the soldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross[44], saw a great

[43] Or, as Ovid says of Polyxena,

Tunc quoque cura fuit partes velare tegendas,
Cum caderet, castique decus servare pudoris.

(Met. xiii. 480.)

[44] Lest the friends of the deceased should take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius' Ephesian matron; *Miles*

snake winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and led the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded, that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods: till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions by assuring them, that as dead oxen breed bees[45], horses wasps[46], and beetles rise out of the putrefactions of asses; so human carcases, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it becomes of a thicker consistence, produce serpents.[47] The ancients, knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret: And thus we find in another authority, which we shall not profane by mentioning it at the same time with Petronius.

[45] This was the received opinion of antiquity as we find in Varro: *Primum apes nascuntur, partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto; Itaque Archelaus in epigrammate ait ecce,* ——Βοὸς φθιμένης πεπυημένα τέκνα. *Idem;* Ἵππων μὲν σφῆκες γένεα, μυσχαλὲ μελισσέων,

This is finely illustrated by Virgil, Georg. iv.

[46] *Pressus lumbo bellator equus crabronis origo.*
(Ov. Met. 368.)

[47] *Sunt qui, cùm clauso putrefacta est spina sepulcro,*
Mutari credunt humanas angue medullas. (Id. ib. 390.)

The above verses seem to be taken from some Greek lines of Archelaus, addressed to Ptolemy on the subject of serpents being generated from the corruption of the human body.

Ἀνδρὸς μὲν κοιλῆς ἐκ μυελὸν ῥαχέως
Δεινὸς γείνατ' ὄφις, νεκυος δειλοῖο σαπείς.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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